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PEACE

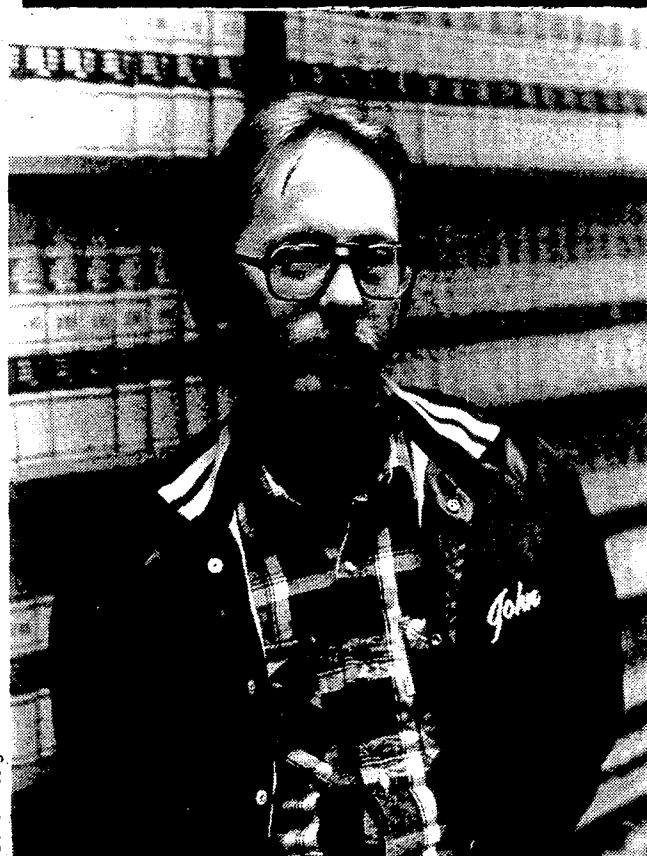
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THE INSIDE STORY



David Moberg

John Drew (above) and two AMC co-workers are defending their rank-and-file newspaper from an anti-union libel suit.

Libel: a new weapon in anti-union arsenal

By David Moberg

KENOSHA, WIS.

A \$4.2 million lawsuit scheduled to begin trial here on October 31 has some labor lawyers worried that corporations may soon have another stick to add to their collection of blunt anti-union weapons: libel. Three outspoken union chief stewards, who eight years ago started an irreverent rank-and-file newspaper called *Fighting Times*, have been charged with libel and related actions by five one-time foremen and an hourly employee at American Motors Corp. (AMC). But behind it all is the corporation itself, which is financing the case and apparently instigated it.

"We keep saying, 'I can't believe we're going through this, when we didn't tell a lie, didn't do anything wrong,'" said Jon Melrod, who is a defendant along with John Drew and Tod Ohnstad, all workers in their early 30s who have worked at AMC nearly a decade. Each had been an active opponent of the Vietnam war, and as they became acquainted found they had similar criticisms of the company and, frequently, the UAW as well. After initially encountering some coolness and even hostility, their mimeo newspaper became more popular, especially in 1979 and 1980, when they published a "scab of the month" feature mainly attacking abusive foremen.

The paper reported on prizewinners such as Steve Freeman, who was accused of regularly patting a middle-aged woman on her buttocks, of belittling a black worker as a "lazy M.F. nigger," dismissing a group of women workers as "a bunch of pussies" for demanding nurse's passes because of smoke in their department or telling one woman worker who asked for some gum she could have it "if I can have a bite of your tits." Other foremen were accused of similar racist or sexist comments, of running an assembly line above a fallen worker (after denying him a medical pass), of falsely accusing a worker of pushing a foreman to the ground and other misdeeds. Another article suggested that the plant superintendent's son received a special job assignment over others who were more qualified and had higher seniority because of favoritism.

Melrod in particular had already won management's wrath and for years there have been running battles heard by National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)

judges and decided in Melrod's favor—his firing after distributing leaflets against speed-up, the company's efforts to stop him from distributing union campaign material, discipline for informational picketing and more. The NLRB also ruled that *Fighting Times* was a "protected activity" and refused to shut it down at AMC's request. Shortly thereafter in 1980, the lawsuit was filed.

Confident of their protection under federal labor law, the *Fighting Times* three did not take their case extremely seriously. Then early this year they got information that seemed to clinch their case. Rudy Kuzel, a 25-year veteran of the plant who had served in many union positions, accidentally saw a manager request current addresses for a list of employees' names. All were one-time critics of Steve Freeman. When he asked a manager who had been trustworthy in the past about company involvement, he was shown a few weeks later a copy of a handwritten memo confirming the corporate plan to finance the case. Later, under pressure, other managers, including George Maddox, vice-president of manufacturing operations, acknowledged the company financing. Maddox, who has long disliked Melrod and *Fighting Times*, claimed that eventually the company would be seen as heroes for its role. But not with Kuzel.

"The main thing they're after is to quash that paper and to stop the printing of truth about supervisors," he said. "There are officers like George Maddox that have personal vendettas based on the distorted idea that these guys are Communists, which they aren't. Maddox has said that he's going to get Melrod because he [Melrod] is against everything America stands for."

It also didn't appear to be the America of the regional NLRB, which filed a complaint against AMC last spring for its "10-year history of...repeated and continuing efforts to squelch Melrod's activities [which]...evinced a continuing campaign of harassment and discrimination culminating in the lawsuit." The complaint ordered AMC to stop the suit and its support, to reimburse defendants' expenses and to stop interfering with Melrod's rights. But a funny thing happened on the way to the administrative law judge hearing.

On May 25 the Supreme Court ruled in a case called *Bill Johnson's Restaurants* involving a waitress who picketed and leafleted a Phoenix restaurant in 1978 when it fired her while she was trying to organize a union. The company charged libel, but the NLRB—upheld by an appeals court—ruled that it was simply an act of retaliation designed to discourage her from exercising her legitimate rights. The Supreme Court, however, unanimously ruled that the NLRB could not throw out such suits unless they were "knowingly frivolous"—that is, where there are no "genuine issues of material fact." Yet such a loose standard is easy for any lawyer to meet, which means that it is easy for a company—directly or indirectly—to pursue a libel suit against a worker or union official.

Even if the worker wins, he or she loses, which the *Fighting Times* trio is discovering as they try to raise \$30,000 to \$50,000 to defend themselves and devote much of their time and emotions to the case. The corporation has vast resources, and besides, it can get the taxpayer to pay half the costs by writing off the business expense.

Even lawyers sympathetic to *Fighting Times* are split on some legal issues. Should there even be libel laws? If so, aren't First Amendment rights to redress in court important to defend against encroachment by a federal

agency? But how to balance the rights of a corporation to file a libel suit against the protected labor organizing rights of workers and what the Supreme Court has acknowledged is the importance of especially free and robust debate in the context of labor-management controversies?

Whatever resolution one makes of those issues, Public Citizen Litigation Group attorney Arthur Fox, who represented the three before the NLRB, says, "The Supreme Court has left the law in extreme imbalance tilted in favor of the employer and created a large loophole that will enable them to coerce workers and effectively deny them their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.... I'm predicting this tactic [libel suits] is going to spread like grass fire, and unscrupulous—they would say 'imaginative'—counselors are going to recommend it."

There are other examples. Karl Subler Trucking of Ohio is suing two truckers for \$20 million each for upsetting their expectation that a contract with the Teamsters would be approved after the two distributed leaflets citing Dun and Bradstreet reports that the poor-mouthing company was in fact profitable. And a Framingham, Mass., UAW local lost a lawsuit brought by a disgruntled foreman against the local union paper. Some union officials have charged dissident members with libel.

"We've carefully investigated all of the matters and we've concluded that all the matters are true," *Fighting Times* attorney Alvin Ugent said. "What will be surprising is the truth of the publications. You will wonder why the hell they're suing us. We say it was a company-sponsored lawsuit to silence these defendants." Already the defense has arranged testimony and taken depositions from nearly 60 witnesses who will corroborate the stories in the paper and offer further evidence that the reputations of many of the foremen was so low that the articles could not have damaged their standing.

The attorneys will argue that the issues involved—safety, discrimination, favoritism, harassment—are all serious and not expressions of personal malice. They will also argue (citing a 1966 Supreme Court decision in *Linn v. Plant Guards*) that the standards for libel in the workplace are at least as stringent as those for newspapers—that is, that the three had to know the information was false or acted with reckless disregard of the truth.

Some of the most telling testimony has come from the foremen-plaintiffs (some of whom are no longer foremen), who admit wrongdoings (drinking on the job), admit tripping rather than being pushed as one once alleged and deny any damages. "I just didn't give a crap what they were saying," the superintendent's son admitted.

What can workers or unions do to prevent the spread of the libel tactic? Of course, the Supreme Court could give the NLRB more latitude in stopping harassment cases, or Congress could act. Successful malicious prosecution suits against companies, as the *Fighting Times* people may take if they win, could stem the tide. Or unions could take Kuzel's advice and strike until the companies withdraw the suits, a "dynamite idea" according to Fox, who says many union no-strike clauses would not prohibit strikes over something like a libel suit.

"You always say truth is a defense, and you have an absolute right to say it," Ugent remarked, "but you can find you have to spend many thousands of dollars to defend that right." Or exercise some power. ■

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James Weinstein

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James Weinstein

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David Moberg

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IN THESE TIMES

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

RONALD REAGAN MIGHT NEVER have been elected president if the Iranian militants had not seized the American Embassy in Teheran in November 1979 and humiliated the Carter administration. When Reagan took office in January 1981 he pledged, "Let terrorists be aware that when the rules of international behavior are violated, our policy will be one of swift and effective retaliation."

But as a result of the October 23 bombing of the American headquarters in Beirut, the Reagan administration has also been humiliated. The bombing was the most serious military and political setback the administration has suffered to

Mission impossible is the U.S. policy in strife-torn Lebanon

date. It left in ruins not only the Marine headquarters, but the administration's policy in Lebanon.

Goals but no policy.

The Reagan administration has always had fairly clear objectives in Lebanon. As stated in the compromise War Powers Resolution Congress passed in September, the goals were to rid Lebanon of foreign troops and "to restore full control by the government of Lebanon over its

own territory." What the administration has lacked—according to its critics on both the left and the right—is a means by which to attain these objectives.

Its initial strategy was to build up Amin Gemayel's government and army, while encouraging withdrawal negotiations between the Lebanese and the Israelis. The administration ignored both the Syrians and Gemayel's Moslem opposition on the assumption that once the Gemayel-Begin agreement was struck, the Syrians and the

Moslems would fall in line.

From January through May, when the deal was finally struck, the State Department received constant reports from its embassy in Damascus that the Syrians would balk at any agreement that ceded Lebanese sovereignty to the Israelis, who continue to occupy part of Syria. According to a *New York Times* report, Secretary of State George Shultz was so angry at the embassy's negative reports that he considered dismissing the American ambassador. When Syria and the Lebanese Moslems rejected the Gemayel-Begin accord, Shultz was surprised and blamed the Syrians for blocking a peace agreement.

But after four months of fighting between the Moslems and the Syrians, on one hand, and the Gemayel government and its multinational allies, on the other hand, the Reagan administration appeared to change course in late September. It successfully pressured the Gemayel government to make concessions to the Syrians to win their support for new talks among the warring parties. At the same time, however, Shultz and Reagan continued publicly to blame the Syrians for the persistence of hostilities in Lebanon.

The apparent American turn toward the Syrians caused consternation among the Christian Phalangists and the Israelis, whose American supporters lobbied against Reagan's new strategy. Both groups recognized that such a strategy amounted to endorsing a *de facto* partition of Lebanon among the Christians, Moslems, Syrians and Israelis. But it remains unclear how seriously the U.S. was committed to this strategy.

No accommodations.

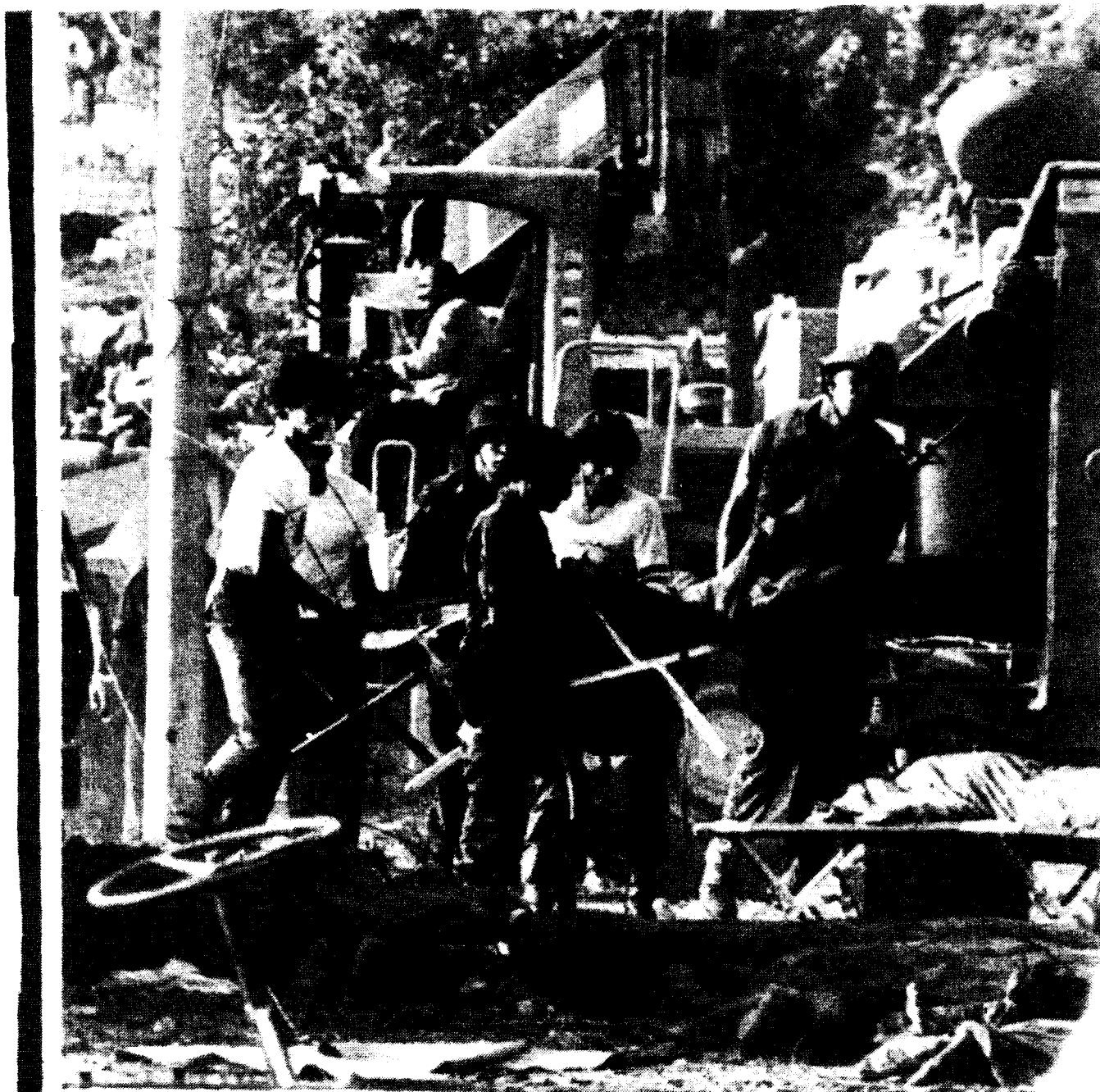
In the wake of the bombing, the administration has pressed its case for continued Marine involvement with arguments that would seem to preclude any accommodation with the Syrians. Reagan, in his impromptu October 25 press conference, and Shultz, in his closed congressional briefing the same day, both blamed the Syrians for the administration's failures in Lebanon. Shultz, referring to the Gemayel-Begin agreement, accused Syria of adhering to a "kind of 'Brezhnev doctrine' whereby countries in its orbit have no sovereign rights to make a decision that displeases it."

Reagan declared that the U.S. has "vital interests" in Lebanon—a term normally reserved for Western Europe and the Persian Gulf. He equated Syrian influence over Lebanon with Soviet influence. "If Lebanon ends up under the tyranny of forces hostile to the West," Reagan said, "not only will our strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean be threatened, but also the stability of the entire Mideast, including the vast resource areas of the Arabian peninsula."

In his congressional briefing, Shultz also invoked the importance of Lebanon to Israel, an appeal clearly aimed at liberal Democrats like Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.) and Rep. Michael Barnes (D-Md.), whose past support of the Marine presence in Lebanon reflected their concern for Israel.

But Reagan's critics on the right, like former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and columnist George Will, have correctly pointed out that if the U.S. regards Lebanon as an important East-West battleground—with Syria representing the East and the Gemayel government and Israel the West—then it should do whatever it can to drive the Syrians out of Lebanon. For this reason, Kissinger suggested expanding, rather than reducing, the Marine presence in Lebanon. Will argued that the U.S. should try to persuade

Continued on page 10



APR1023/1-10/23/83-REUTERS: Marines and Lebanese rescue workers carry the body of a dead Marine 10/23 after a truck loaded with explosives was detonated as it crashed into the Marine compound in Beirut. The bombing in which many Marines were based was totally destroyed. The bodies of other dead Marines are in the foreground.

UPI photo by Claude Salhani

Hawks, Doves split on Grenada

Congressional response to the American invasion of Grenada broke down along more predictable dove-hawk, left-right lines than the response to the administration's policies in Lebanon. While House Speaker Tip O'Neill continued to back the administration, liberal Democrats like Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.) and Rep. Michael Barnes (D-Md.), who have equivocated on Lebanon, leaped into the fray against the administration's invasion of Grenada. Conservative opponents of the administration's Lebanon policy like Sen. Daniel Quayle (R-Ind.) applauded the show of force in the Caribbean.

The most concerted opposition to ad-

ministration policy in both Lebanon and Grenada came from the Congressional Black Caucus, which called a press conference October 25 to protest the invasion. Caucus Chairman Julian Dixon (D-Calif.) explained that no member of the 21-person caucus supported the administration's decision to invade Grenada. Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.) charged that the administration decision had nothing to do with the safety of American medical students in Grenada, nor with a request from the small, weak Caribbean nations that are normally expected to do American bidding. "We see the reason as based upon the East-West conflict," Dymally said. "The request gave the administration just the excuse it was looking for."

Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) suggested that the invasion might have been designed to "force a conflict with Cuba" and saw in it ominous implications.

"Does it mean that if the Organization of American States [OAS] says we have a problem with Nicaragua that we go in and invade them if we don't like their government?" he asked.

Rep. Mickey Leland (D-Texas) suggested that Reagan was using the invasion to make the country forget about Lebanon. "This is being used politically to divert attention from the problems in Lebanon," Leland said. "Indeed, Grenada is a country where we can exercise our adventurism and win."

Caucus members expressed their fear that Congress would fail to stop the administration in either Lebanon or Grenada. "If this Congress had courage, it could challenge the president very powerfully," Dellums said. "But I think that the War Powers Act has demonstrated its impotence and lack of courage."

—J.B.J.

IN SHORT

Misguided missiles

Opponents of Cruise and Pershing II deployment took to the nation's streets and military bases October 21-24 in what may have been the largest national antinuclear protest to date (see Briefing). Although deployment may be inevitable, doubts about it are clearly growing. The *Nation's* Christopher Hitchens recently discussed the views of a surprisingly skeptical Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary for Defense, who told an off-the-record journalists' lunch in Washington that the missiles were of questionable military value and that if the decision had to be made again he'd oppose deployment. (Backing out now, however, would break an American commitment, Perle said.)

Harder to ignore than Perle's attack of common sense may be evidence of poor test results for the missiles. The Coalition Against the Deployment of Cruise and Pershing II Missiles found that just counting publicized test failures, the missiles have a success rate of barely 70 percent. The Navy is on record saying it would require an 80 to 90 percent success rate under simulated combat conditions before deployment, but a critical General Accounting Office report has found that even the disappointing Cruise tests aren't taking place in combat-like situations. Coalition source Robert Aldridge, a former Lockheed engineer, says, "The only thing that makes sense in deploying [the missiles] in December is to get NATO's nuclear buildup started before the opposition gets stronger."

Smearing Seneca

One site of entrenched American opposition to Euromissile deployment has been the Seneca Army Depot, where the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice has received a lot of media attention since it was established July 4. But last month editors of small local papers got an unsolicited story on an aspect of the camp that has received "little publicity"—the financial hardship it has caused Seneca County. Focusing on local resentment of the women campers, articulated by a crusty supervisor who calls the "young ladies" of the camp "a burden from the moment they got here," the story was distributed by the Washington-based ALF News Service. The service bills itself as non-partisan and non-profit, and the best news to struggling editors is that its stories are free.

Who's footing the bill for the hidden story of the Seneca subversives? The news service is connected with the American Legal Foundation (ALF), a right-wing law firm that has specialized in broadcast law and Federal Communications Commission proceedings. Its publications are advertised in *Spotlight*, the newspaper of the far right Liberty Lobby, and its most noteworthy case was a 1981 challenge to the license renewal of Pacifica radio station WPFW of Washington, D.C., on the grounds that the station gave inordinate airtime to Salvadoran rebel supporters. Last May ALF threw a party honoring National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) head Terry Dolan, attended by Republican Senators Orrin Hatch, Paul Laxalt and Jack Kemp. The news service appears to be ALF's attempt to move into the communication business, but it's had a slow start—so far only the Greensboro, Penn., *Tribune Review* and the *Texas Gazette* have carried the Seneca expose. Future stories will reportedly include a look at how a presidential campaign affects an incumbent senator's performance. Coincidentally, the only senators running for president so far this year are Democrats.

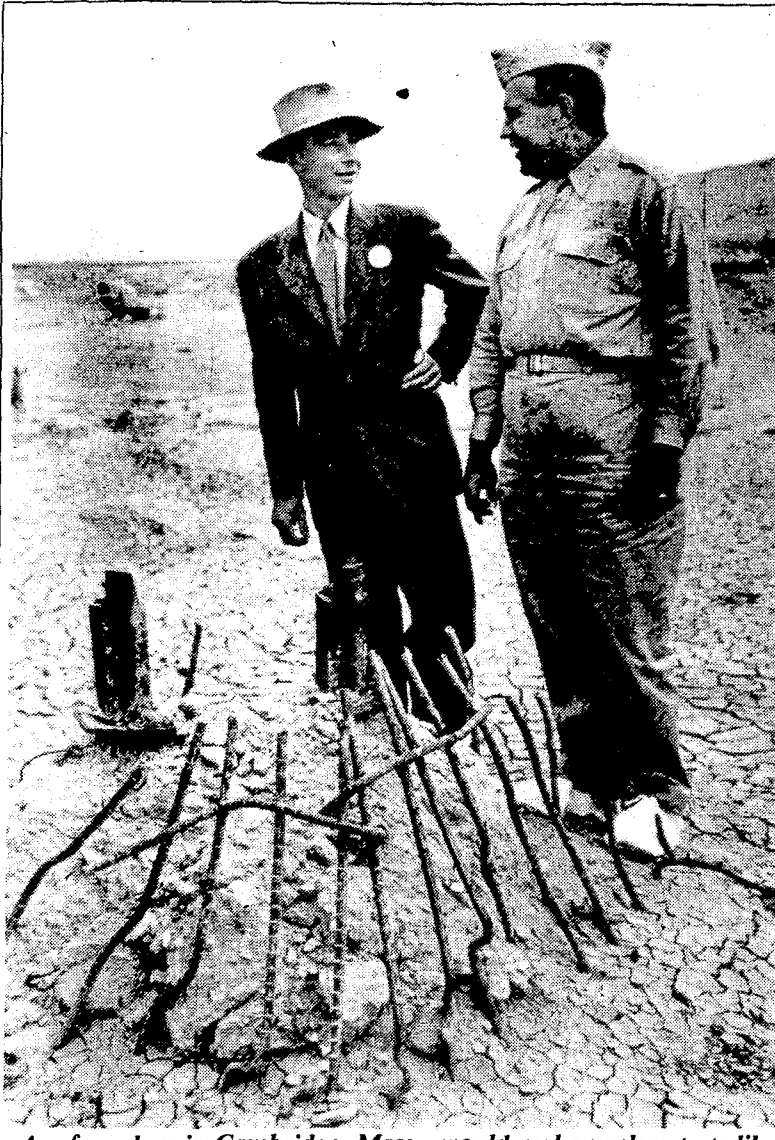
Big Oil beaten

An unusual coalition of environmentalists and labor unions has been pushing for laws restricting the storage of toxic chemicals in California's Silicon Valley, where electronics companies' leaky underground facilities have contaminated the groundwater of surrounding communities. A successful drive for a tough toxics ordinance in Santa Clara County earlier this year (*In These Times*, March 2) turned into a push for statewide legislation requiring tighter containment and stricter monitoring of toxic chemicals. Despite the bitter opposition of the state's powerful electronics and oil industry lobbies, the Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition was victorious, and Republican Gov. George Deukmejian recently signed AB 1362 into law. Commented 20-year California State Senate veteran David Roberti: "It's the first time I've seen Big Oil beat since I've been here."

Gentlemen's agreement

Ten years after Salvador Allende's elected government in Chile was toppled by a U.S.-backed coup, the CIA director who funneled millions of dollars to insurgents and then lied about it to Congress has finally gotten the credit he deserves. Richard Helms, who was pronounced "in disgrace and shame" by a federal judge in 1977 for denying the CIA's role in supporting the Chilean coup, quietly received a National Security Medal for "exceptionally meritorious service" at the White House October 20. "I have to feel exonerated," said Helms, who wrote off his past legal troubles as "one of the hazards of working for the agency." Helms' secret for dealing with the ups and downs of CIA service? "You just be as much a gentleman as you can be."

—Joan Walsh



A referendum in Cambridge, Mass., would make nuclear tests like the above a crime.

Nuclear ban in Cambridge?

CAMBRIDGE, MA—Twenty-five communities around the nation have approved largely symbolic measures declaring themselves "nuclear-free zones." Cambridge voters, however, will have the chance to do more than send a message: a November 8 referendum would actually interrupt nuclear weapons research and development taking place in the city.

In 1981, a non-binding vote for a nuclear-free Cambridge was approved by three quarters of the electorate. This year's vote would put the referendum into law, making research, production and development of nuclear weapons a crime. This time, defense contractors and other corporations have set up "Citizens Against Research Bans" to defeat the referendum. Already the best financed campaign in the city's history, CARB has raised \$100,000, most of it from out-of-state, and flown in political consultants from Los Angeles.

Their intensive campaign is well underway. Before election day, every registered voter will receive several direct mail appeals, with union members targeted for special treatment. In addition to leaflets and TV spots, a 21-line phone bank is being used to conduct "polls" that are really an attempt to argue against the referendum. Voters are told that 4,600 jobs would be lost, that honest researchers would be jailed and that 70 to 80 companies would be jeopardized.

Mobilization for Survival, running a shoestring campaign from its basement office, called a press conference recently to denounce opponents for "deliberately and consistently misleading voters." They argue that only one wea-

pons contractor, Charles Stark Draper Laboratories, which designs guidance systems for MX and Cruise missiles, is certain to be affected by the law.

The ultimate impact of a nuclear-free Cambridge, besides preventing future weapons research here, also lies in the precedent it would set: cities that actually house defense contractors can shut down their nuclear work. According to Sandra Graham, a city councilor and state representative, Question Two represents the best in "bottom-up" social change. "What we're doing here in Cambridge is saying to the country: there is a way to fight nuclear weapons," she commented. Rather than waiting for Congress to pass a nuclear freeze, citizens can refuse to allow the weapons to be designed or produced in their hometowns.

Opponents are working with the city's Chamber of Commerce



as well as academics, including the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT) Jerome Wiesner, to defeat the law. Letters mailed over the signature of Ernest May, a Harvard history professor, declare that he is "very concerned about banning research on anything."

"Dirty politics," responds Nobel Laureate George Wald, a supporter of the referendum. "What we're talking about here is not pure science but research and development—technology—for nuclear weapons."

—Alfie Kohn

Chicago strike ends uneasily

CHICAGO—Teachers in the nation's third largest public school system returned from a three-week strike last week with a tiny pay increase and more discontent than usual. Unlike many past school negotiations, the mayor did not intervene to bring about a settlement—a decision that won both compliments and criticism from Mayor Harold Washington's supporters.

Although teachers had played a major role in winning the approximately \$172 million in new revenues that the school system obtained this year, the Board began by offering a meager 0.5 percent pay increase. Eventually they won an effective 2.9 percent increase plus a bonus and extension of the school year to make up for lost pay during the strike, the longest in the system's history. The increase will be financed by extending some teachers' salaries to a full year instead of nine months, pledges to cut medical and absenteeism costs, savings resulting from the strike and other adjustments.

But many teachers believed that there was more money to be found, especially by cutting the highly paid and bloated school bureaucracy. However, one of the biggest burdens diminishing money for teacher pay and better education is the high debt payments for bonds issued by the School Finance Authority, established in 1980 to deal—in a way ultimately most costly to the taxpayer and most beneficial to the banks—with a school fiscal crisis.

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

is. Furthermore, as the Finance Authority has retired some of its debt, it has not shifted its share of the school property tax back to the system but has instead given tax rebates (too small to be very helpful to the average taxpayer but large enough to have financed a reasonable raise for teachers who had foregone pay increases for the past two years.)

As union president Robert Healey quickly pushed through the settlement, he encountered unusually high opposition in the union House of Delegates and a 28 percent "no" vote among teachers. Many were angry that strikebreaking teachers would be paid for the strike and receive bonuses, although substitute teachers, who strongly backed the strike, will not.

Some black community groups had brought pressure to end the strike. The acting head of Jesse Jackson's PUSH accused the teachers union of acting in collusion with Washington foe Alderman Edward Vrdolyak to embarrass the mayor. But white teachers and the black majority in the union stuck together against such community pressures and in opposition to Superintendent Ruth Love, a black woman.

Washington refused to play "Mr. Fix-It." Unlike past mayors, he didn't pledge city money

not readily available to bring about a settlement. Washington may have hoped not only to set a precedent of serious collective bargaining but also to use the school board as a means of delivering an austerity message to city employees, since police and fire contracts are now in negotiation.

Although a number of supporters and establishment figures praised Washington for not dabbling in the school crisis, others felt that he could have played a more active role without falling into Mayor Richard Daley's pattern.

George Schmidt, a teacher who was an active Washington supporter and writes regularly on school finances, thought the mayor's action was "cowardly." "He could have appointed two people to the board to replace two of the most anti-union people on the board," Schmidt said. "He has had the opportunity for months. By not making those appointments he left Jane Byrne's school board in place. And he could have put together a package with Vrdolyak to go after legislation to change the School Finance Authority. Also, when Operation PUSH came out with that conspiracy nonsense, he could have said immediately that it was untrue. It was unconscionable for Washington to let that continue." —David Moberg

IBT research fraud found

CHICAGO—Three former officials of Industrial Bio-Test (IBT) Laboratories were found guilty of falsifying key scientific safety tests used to obtain government approval of drugs and pesticides October 21.

The former IBT officials are Dr. Moreno L. Keplinger, former section head of toxicology; Dr. Paul L. Wright, former section head for rat toxicology; and James B. Plank, former assistant manager for toxicology. Each was convicted of defrauding the government, though only Keplinger was found guilty on all eight counts brought against them.

At issue in the marathon trial that began in Federal District Court here April 4 were four long-term scientific studies used to market the herbicide Sencor, the pesticide Nemacur, a drug used in the treatment of arthritis inflammation called Naprosyn and TCC, an antibacterial agent contained in most popular deodorant soaps. All the compounds have been retested and have received government approval for sale nationwide.

IBT, based in Northbrook, Ill., was once the nation's oldest and largest independent chemical testing firm. Between the firm's founding in 1952 and its closing in 1978, IBT conducted more than 22,000 toxicology studies. Almost half were used to gain federal registrations for hundreds of drugs, food additives and pesticides still sold on the American and international markets (see *In These Times*, May 11.)

In 1976, a toxicologist with the U.S. Food and Drug Administration discovered that IBT tests conducted in the late '60s and early '70s may have been deliber-

ately falsified in order to cover up the laboratory's extraordinarily high animal mortality rate. The stunning find sent tremors through several federal regulatory agencies, particularly the Environmental Protection Agency, where more than 2,000 IBT studies were contained in the agency's pesticide safety files.

The IBT trial, which generated more than 16,000 pages of court transcript, was grueling. The jury was inundated by details about pathology, biostatistics, tumor identification, animal necropsy, chemical dose relationships and other arduous disciplines that make up the relatively new science of toxicology.

Defense witnesses conceded that critical information was missing from IBT's files, but denied that data used to replace it had been fabricated. The laboratory's difficulties were the result of untried and pioneering practices begun by the company, defense attorneys argued, and not the result of fraud.

The EPA began a massive review of its files after the problems with IBT tests were discovered, and last July announced that "major portions" of the questionable IBT studies used to license 140 popular pesticides had been replaced. But in late September EPA staff charged that the report was a "sham," and that the EPA still lacks basic health and safety information on more than 100 commonly used pesticides IBT tested.

An internal EPA memo dated Aug. 30, 1983, showed that the agency had "reviewed and accepted" just 69 replacement studies for the more than 600 invalidated IBT tests. According to the memo, in more than 200 other studies the EPA termed "replaced" in July, the chemical companies have merely agreed to start long-term replacement studies.

—Keith Schneider

Briefing: Euromissiles protested across U.S.

The so-called "heart of the arms race"—a complex of dozens of facilities under five major defense contractors—in suburban El Segundo near Los Angeles—was the target of weekend demonstrations and civil disobedience during International Days of Protest, October 21-24, opposing deployment of NATO Cruise and Pershing II missiles. At least 60 people from religious and peace groups were arrested early Monday as they blockaded arriving defense employees at busy facility entrances, and seven more were taken into

property in 1982.

A camp-in of 20 women at McConnell-Douglas Lab went unchallenged Monday because the contractor for the Cruise missile was idle in observance of United Nations Day.

In the hours before dawn on Monday, October 24, more than 50 demonstrators gathered in rural upstate New York to blockade the main gates of the Seneca Army Depot, the Department of Defense's principal East Coast storage facility for nuclear weapons and an anticipated storage site for



custody for leafletting outside a plant. Included were California's giant Hughes Aircraft, contractor for the Trident missile, and the U.S. Air Force Space Division, a contract manager in defense-dependent southern California, which absorbs a full 10 percent of the nation's defense spending.

A police-sanctioned demonstration sponsored by the Alliance for Survival on Saturday, October 22, drew 6,000 participants. The diverse group included drum-beating Buddhists and a contingent identified on a banner as Punks for Peace. There was a one-mile march on the spacious, sealed off street before the Northrop facility.

Speaker Irene Eckert, West Berlin Chair of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, told the demonstrators that Europeans are "not unilateralists or pro-Soviet" to resist the deployment of "first-strike" Euromissiles, set to arrive in Europe December 12. Eckert later shied from speculating on the scheduled deployment. She called resistance a "process" subject to still-changing forces in West Germany and other nations.

An Alliance for Survival lawyer said Monday that charges against the seven arrested for pamphleting at Hughes Aircraft will be used to secure pamphleting rights on contractors' property as "the only way to get to employees." Pamphleters already won the right to pamphlet on Rockwell

Pershing II missile warheads. Before the day was over, more than 400 of them—almost twice the number projected by organizers—were arrested for civil disobedience.

Monday's blockade was the culmination of a weekend of protest highlighted by a rally and demonstration on Saturday at Sampson State Park, just a few miles from the Depot. The Sampson Park demonstration was the largest such protest held in upstate New York and the largest in a series of rallies held in the U.S. on Saturday as part of International Days of Protest. According to state police, about 5,000 people attended the event and listened to guest speakers including Dr. Benjamin Spock, former U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug and Bishop Matthew Clark from nearby Rochester.

The weekend's activities were a continuation of the work of the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Social Justice, which sponsored protests at the Seneca Depot throughout the summer. The summer encampment was troubled by widely reported suspicion by the locals, but the weekend action seemed calculated to assuage the community's uneasiness. The Rochester contingent handed out American flags—one summer conflict occurred when the women refused to fly a flag at the camp—and mainstream religious leaders were involved in planning the protest. Nevertheless, a group of 50 anti-camp locals counterprotested a few

miles from the park—covered by 30 reporters.

Outside the gates of the Savannah River plant near Aiken, S.C., where all plutonium and tritium used in American nuclear weapons is produced, 80 protesters were arrested in a peaceful blockade October 24. An earlier legal rally and a weekend peace camp were designed to halt the operations at the bomb plant.

Monday morning, men and women protesters from southeastern states attempted to block incoming traffic to the bomb plant. About 50 women at separate women's peace camp gates engaged in civil disobedience, doing the slow walk and chanting and wailing before a peaceful arrest.

"Deployment of first-strike weapons missiles in West

In Minneapolis, 577 people were arrested at Honeywell, Inc., designers of Pershing II guidance systems. The firm took out newspaper ads before the action, explaining why it installed chainlink fences.

Germany is suicidal," said Brett Bursey, a member of the Natural Guard, a group that organized Friday's legal rally. The rally was attended by 400 persons who sat on a grassy strip bordering an entrance to the Savannah River facility, the safest plant in South Carolina, according to road signs. Protesters listened to about 20 speakers, musicians and performers reaffirm the call for a nuclear freeze and an immediate shutdown of the bomb plant.

Many focused on health hazards the plant poses to local residents and workers. Pointing out that local infant mortality rates are the highest in the state, and rates in South Carolina are the highest nationally, Bursey said, "Letting our children die—that's an issue of national security."

Bursey's remarks came in response to earlier attempts by a federal judge to dissuade protesters from blockading the plant by issuing a maximum \$1,000 fine and up to six months in jail on the grounds of national security. The protesters claimed an early victory on Friday when a judge from the Fourth District Court of Appeals overturned the injunction.

—Michael Jondreau, Carl Goldfarb and Anne-Christine d'Adesky

Fred Halliday—LONDON

THE U.S. INVASION OF GRENADA ON THE MORNING of October 25 marks the end of an era, one in which the U.S. was apparently inhibited from using its military superiority to impose its will on the Third World. Just two days after the death of more than 215 Marines in their billet in Beirut, four years after the seizure of the U.S. hostages in Teheran and eight years after the last American troops pulled out of Vietnam, an American president has demonstrated that the imperialist urge remains strong. ¶ The Caribbean has long been a favorite site for such U.S. interventions: Cuba and Puer-

to Rico, the latter occupied since 1898, Nicaragua, Haiti, El Salvador and Panama on other occasions. The last such case of a quick-fix U.S. counter-revolutionary intervention to crush a Third World state was but a few hundred miles northwest of Grenada, where tens of thousands of U.S. troops, then as now topped off with the cosmetic addition of client contingents from the region's other states, was deployed to crush the revolution in the Dominican Republic in June of 1965.

The Grenada invasion must be considered, however, not just within the regional context of the Caribbean but within American global strategy. Ever since coming to office, Ronald Reagan has been looking for such an opportunity to flex his muscles in the Third World—to win a quick victory. Before Grenada, this proved more difficult than expected. Libya had not provided an excuse for direct attack. Cuba had quickly stamped out a new rush of exiled saboteurs dispatched in 1981. Currently, the cost of escalating the undermining of Nicaragua has risen. In some other areas of the Third World the Reagan administration has achieved victories, but local allies have done the job for Reagan: Israel in Lebanon and South Africa in Angola. But in these cases Reagan himself has not been able to claim credit for victory, since they were not accomplished by U.S. forces directly.

This appears to be the fundamental reason for the Grenada invasion: a demonstration of American power. The administration's justification—that U.S. citizens needed protection—has no foundation; there were no reports of them being in danger and they were about to leave anyway. The claim that the other Caribbean governments "invited" the Marines to invade Grenada is absurd. Grenada, an isolated island of about 100,000 people, posed no threat to anyone, and these governments had no more right than the U.S. to invade, in any case. Indeed, a plan to invade Grenada had existed for months, but the tragic internal conflicts that led to the ousting and later death of Premier Maurice Bishop provided the pretext for the action.

If Grenada is important as a turning point in American foreign policy, it is equally so—and indeed was so before the invasion—because of its place in the history of revolutionary socialism.

When I visited Grenada this past June and met with Premier Bishop and other leaders, I was struck by the sobriety and success of their revolutionary experiment. Since the New Jewel Movement had come into power in 1979, living standards had risen, social services had been developed and, as even its opponents admitted, the government had the support

of the great majority of the population.

This makes Bishop's slaying by dissident left forces an even greater tragedy, not simply for the people of the island and the oppressed in the Caribbean area, but for socialists everywhere.

Grenada has lost a leader who had led it through four years of difficult but generally successful transformation. The world lost one of the few revolutionary leaders of modern times who had demonstrated a grasp of the need for intransigence in the face of both domestic dictators and international imperialism alike, and of the necessity for maintaining a broad popular consent in any transition process.

Three causes.

All of the causes of the sudden denouement in St. George's that led to the U.S. invasion are still unclear as of this writing, but three causes already stand out. One was that a serious division had developed within the governing party, the New Jewel Movement. A minority faction, led by Minister of Economics Bernard Coard and Minister of Local Government Selwyn Strachan, had formed an alliance with armed forces leaders to oust Bishop. As chief party ideologue, Coard had special access to the army and had apparently dominated the younger

Bernard Coard



GRENADA

Reagan's policy led to Bishop's fall

military leadership. Bishop—true to the militancy he had shown in the struggle against the dictatorship of Eric Gairy up to 1979—took the first opportunity he could to break away from his captors and led a mass demonstration in which he was then seized and killed.

Personality played a role in the conflict, and as early as a year ago there were rumors that Coard was planning to resign. But other political issues also played a central part. Bishop had emphasized the need to maintain an alliance with members of the local trading class, while Coard wanted to move rapidly against them. Bishop had insisted on respect for human rights—no reported executions or tortures had taken place under the New Jewel regime—while Coard, or at least some sections of the military, favored a

harder line. Bishop was still seeking accommodation, an armistice of some kind, with the U.S. and had sought and won a meeting with Reagan's former National Security Advisor William Clark during a visit to Washington in May. Some of the far left of the regime in Grenada seem to have opposed it.

But the sharpness of this clash within the New Jewel Movement was also increased by the pressure to which Grenada was being subjected by the U.S. Reagan bears much of the responsibility for the death of Bishop and the bloody implosion of the Grenada revolution. The boycott of Grenada, the relentless propaganda against it and the U.S. military harassment mounted in the Caribbean since 1981 all contributed to a state of

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ISRAEL

Economic panic harms right, but left lacks solutions



New Prime Minister Itzak Shamir must get hold of the economy if the right-wing coalition is to stay in power.

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

ON JUST HIS FOURTH DAY IN office, Israeli Prime Minister Itzak Shamir faced a formidable task: finding a suitable candidate who would accept the job of finance minister.

On October 13, Yoram Aridor, the third man to hold the post since the rightist Likud took power six years ago, was ignominiously chased out of office after confirming the existence of a plan, which was leaked to the press, to "dollarize" the country's economy. This was an attempt to escape the looming threat of bankruptcy and a total loss of control, which had seemed a real possibility the preceding week.

When looking for a replacement, Shamir turned first to Deputy Premier David Levy, a former ally of Aridor's "populist" wing of the ruling Herut Party, whose public esteem is currently high after his respectable defeat in the contest to succeed Menachem Begin as prime minister. But Levy was adamant in rejecting the offer: why ruin a promising career, as happened to Aridor and his two predecessors?

More willing to take the job were a handful of prominent personalities, each one with his own share of questionably motivated backers, who nevertheless felt that it could provide a stepping stone to higher office. Putting themselves forward as well were a number of second-string Likud politicians willing to risk the task for a chance to be in the limelight. And it was from among them that Herut's Yigal Cohen-Orgad was finally chosen and confirmed on October 18.

Cohen-Orgad had been one of Aridor's most prominent critics. There were many

in both government and opposition as the Treasury raced to sink the Israeli shekel faster than panicky citizens could unload theirs for dollars, or whatever other foreign currency the banks still had available. In the ensuing panic, the critics were just as quick to lambast the dollarization scheme as "unpatriotic"—an unfair characterization, considering that the idea is essentially an attempt to wipe out inflation in one move by returning the economy to a fixed rate of currency exchange, which was abandoned in 1977 as part of the Likud's "liberalization" policy.

But critics who offered more than knee-jerk appeals to national pride were correct in saying that currency manipulation alone cannot solve the underlying problems of a mounting internal state deficit and a dangerously widened foreign trade gap accompanied by a near unmanageable debt, \$12.5 billion more than a decade ago. Constituting the last barrier before the deluge is a politically dangerous, ever-growing dependency on U.S. aid.

These problems—which are not new but were simply easier to ignore as long as the dollar grants and loans kept flowing—will have to be addressed by Cohen-Orgad and his new team, and also by any Israeli opposition purporting to have an alternative to the slashing of services and wages and the institution of unemployment, which is now "inevitable," according to all those who vied for the finance ministry.

Similar plans were offered to solve similar but less urgent problems when the Likud first took power six and a half years ago. The abolition of many government controls then led not to a home-grown surge of productive investment but to hyper-inflation. It also resulted in speculative exploitation by banks and others in a position to do so, especially those

with access to the massive inflows of foreign money, a unique feature of Israel's economy. Imports, meanwhile, have increased tremendously, while exports have fallen (except for the highly unstable, interconnected areas of high technology, electronics and weapons) and monetary policy has flip-flopped. Semi-austerity and a credit freeze, imposed in 1980 by Aridor's predecessor Yigael Hurvitz, began to lower inflation, but also knocked down real wages, created some unemployment and brought the Likud to a dangerous low in public opinion polls. Aridor was brought in, and the picture was reversed in time for the June 1981 elections.

Reinstitution of subsidies on food, fuel and transportation, together with luxury tax reductions, kept inflation below 100 percent for the year, but it shot up again in 1982. Then a new tack was tried: the shekel's devaluation in relation to the dollar was deliberately slowed to a rate under that of domestic price rises. This led to a flood of imports, a crisis among exporters and local producers in general and a dangerous reduction in foreign currency reserves.

In August, a "one-time, corrective" devaluation of 7.5 percent was imposed, but it soon became clear that a much larger one was still necessary, and it came on October 10. The exchange rate is currently more than 80 to the dollar, a 100 percent jump in six months, with demand still heavy and more depreciation expected.

The run on banks.

It was the bumbling of the exchange rate issue that led to the run on Israel's banks, whose stock had become a form of savings for a large majority of Israelis, either individually or in the form of pension funds. For years the major banks, which double as stockbrokers, had sold more and more of their own shares to customers, creating demand by making sure they stayed well ahead of inflation, and supporting them by having subsidiaries repurchase as many shares as necessary whenever the market was jittery.

With the rest of the stock market in a major slump throughout 1983 and foreign currency a bad investment because of the artificially high shekel, billions in bank shares were sold, and their prices continued to rise. But the bubble finally burst. The few who could sold out before the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange locked its doors on October 6. It was tentatively scheduled to reopen two weeks later.

Only a relatively few persons—for example, those who had recently purchased shares to protect their money for a short period between the sale and subsequent purchase of an apartment—were hurt badly. And some companies that held large quantities of bank shares for use as liquid assets suffered as well, but apparently they also will be kept afloat with emergency state loans—again channeled through the banks.

If the economy does not recover, it will be a heavy, perhaps unbearable, burden to the National Treasury to redeem the share-bonds six years from now. But that will likely be the problem of a different government, and almost certainly of a different finance minister.

Meanwhile, the Shamir government and its new finance minister can be expected to seek an improvement in Israel's trade balance by trying to apply the conservative economist's advice. What proved politically difficult in the early years of Likud rule may now become possible if the public's fears of even worse are effectively exploited. The October 11 50 percent hike in basic food items has been called "only a first step."

None of Aridor's possible successors criticized his stated intentions to cut \$2 billion from the budget, and with an army to support in Lebanon and a government absolutely committed to continuing its settlement splurge on the West Bank, the targets will be education, health, welfare and wages. Establishment economists agree that the devaluation must be "effective," meaning that they

believe workers should not be given full compensation for the ensuing price rises. The automatic cost of living adjustment agreement with the Labor Federation must be renegotiated, they say. And "temporary" unemployment is widely seen as unavoidable.

Jumping ship.

But such policies may lead to the Likud's fall from power, accomplishing what even the by now highly unpopular Lebanon invasion did not. Shamir became premier despite harsh criticism in the Kahan Commission's report on last year's Beirut massacres, and war architect Ariel Sharon, although removed from the defense ministry, is still far more popular than the disgraced Aridor.

If workers are hard hit and there is no appreciable improvement in the economy as a whole, new elections could be called before the scheduled late 1985 vote. This would likely be prompted by small coalition partners jumping ship. A union-sponsored two-hour warning strike on October 16 was the least the labor-controlled Histadrut Federation could do. The action was almost universally observed, and in some locations workers stayed off the job longer to get their message across.

But the prospect of a new government raises questions about what alternative policies it could adopt. Everyone acknowledges there must be some sort of cutbacks.

Yet Labor does not call for a unilateral exit from Lebanon, and now that a partial pullback has been made, it finds little to criticize in the current government's policies. In the West Bank, many Labor

The Labor Party mainstream still shies away from supporting the kind of changes in Israel's foreign policy that could cut dependence on foreign aid and reduce the quarter of the budget that goes to the military.

members still favor some settlements, and it would be politically difficult to halt Likud-initiated projects already underway. Finally, even after an electoral victory, Labor would probably still depend on religious coalition partners.

Some of Labor's more radical members, along with parties farther to the left, talk about serious shifts in the distribution of the nation's economic pie, but this would entail a major departure from the strategy under which the governments of Ben-Gurion, Eshkol, Meir and Rabin sponsored the growth of Israeli capitalism from 1948-77. The final product not only enables the right to take power for itself after that, but also closely resembled the system that has now evolved since the Likud's brief early romance with a laissez-faire outlook, meant to "sweep the system clean of distortion and hypocrisy." The only difference is that in the past, state-nurtured capitalism more or less functioned. Now it is shown to be disastrously and dangerously inoperative.

Labor's mainstream still shies away from advocating the kinds of changes in Israel's foreign policy that could make a difference in dependence on foreign aid and reduce the approximately 25 percent of the government budget that goes directly to the military (in addition to the 33

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WEST GERMANY

Peace leaders and SPD join hands



By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

FROM THE HIGH PEAK OF THE German peace movement on a sunny Saturday in October, with perhaps a million and a half people out taking part in the largest and best organized demonstrations in recent history, the new set of problems looming on the horizon were the problems of success. The movement has grown too big and strong to be ignored, strangled or isolated. But it may be diluted, diverted and divided by what it will settle for as political leaders clamor to take the reins of the bandwagon.

This was the meaning of the sharp clash between Willy Brandt and Petra Kelly at the gigantic rally here on October 22. The appearance of Brandt meant that the Social Democratic Party (SPD)

together of the peace movement and the SPD means the achievement of a long-standing political goal. Leinen was a Young Socialist leader before going on his own "long march" through the ecology and peace movements. In his view, the movements will enrich and renew the SPD, and the SPD will be able to translate movement ideals into practical policies. Leinen introduced Brandt as the man who had set German policy on a new course when he knelt in the Warsaw Ghetto.

Brandt had been allowed to speak only after he had assured the movement coordinating committee that he would finally say a clear "no" to the missiles. What he said was that Germany needed "not more means of mass annihilation, but fewer. Therefore we say no to ever more new nuclear missiles."

Petra Kelly, who had insisted on speaking after Brandt in order to catch his

en up? He offered this answer: "Powerful people have got it into their thick heads that deploying Pershing II is more important than getting rid of the SS-20."

Brandt proposed three demands that the movement make. First, "serious negotiations instead of deployment. Second, a superpower agreement first to freeze and then to destroy nuclear weapons. Third, transfer money spent on arms to the worldwide struggle against poverty, hunger and oppression."

Children dying of hunger and disease

Many predict that the SPD will take over the movement. This arouses sharp misgivings.

while billions are wasted on the arms race is not only inhumane, it is wrecking the world economy, the SPD leader argued.

"I call not only on friends and partners in West and East, but also on the governments of our own country: do not fear the Germans' strong desire for peace! Make use of it!" the old Social Democratic leader urged.

Brandt said that although he would "like the blocs to be overcome," since they existed, "we belong in the Western Alliance." But European interests should be effectively represented within it.

Kelly retorted that saying "no" to the missiles and "yes" to NATO was "absurd." Absurd or not, this is undoubtedly the majority position in Germany today.

The crowd that had packed into Bonn's vast Hofgarten Mall gave the SPD leader a mixed greeting. Some Greens hoisted an accusing sign reading "Hypocrite" as he began to speak. But he was applauded when he said that "we must not become prisoners of the assumption that there is no such thing as human or computer error." He was booed, however, when he paid tribute to the role of the Bundeswehr

Human chain in Bonn on the Rhine River

as "an army in a democratic state, helping to ensure peace."

Much of Brandt's speech seemed addressed more to the Americans, or to the German government, than to convinced opponents of the NATO missile decision, so it is hardly surprising that the crowd made unfriendly noises. But Brandt seemed surprised, and annoyed. He appeared furious that Petra Kelly used her speech to criticize his.

Kelly expressed the "hope that the SPD understands the change in its security policy as reparation for its nuclear errors, and not as a strategy for integrating an independent movement in order to betray it once again." This was an allusion to

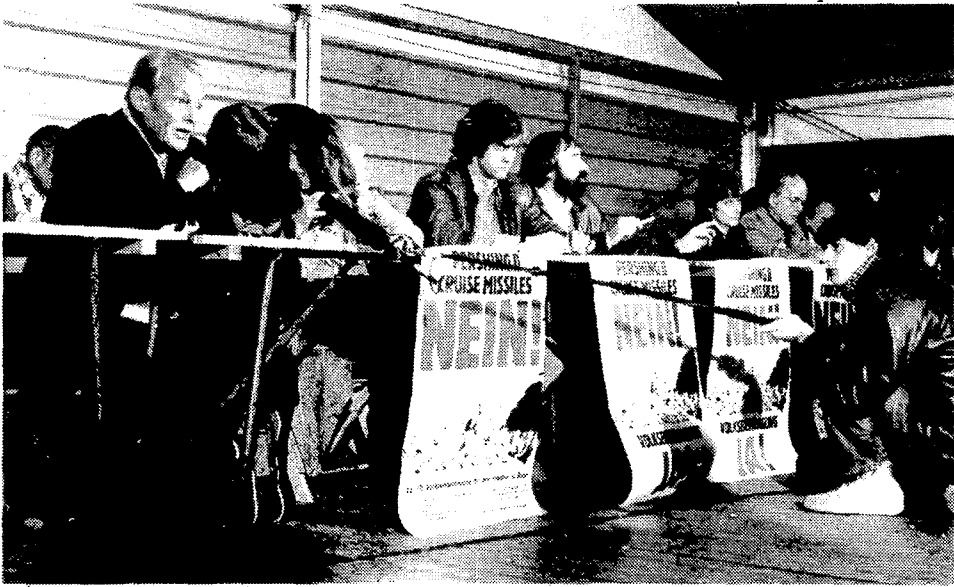


the SPD's abandonment of the antinuclear movement of the late '50s. The point, she said, is not which chancellor can best use his influence with the U.S., but to reject nuclear arms without compromise.

In the press conference after the rally, Brandt accused Kelly and the Greens of partisan attacks.

A journalist close to the movement asked author Heinrich Boll whether he feared that the movement was about to be taken over by officialdom. Boll looked puzzled. "I thought what we wanted was for the government to take over our ideas," he said innocently.

It hadn't happened yet. And meanwhile, despite leadership battles, the movement still belonged to its activists,



(Above) Peace movement leaders at Bonn press conference after rally (Right) Author Heinrich Boll

verbal sidesteppings, retorted that there should not be just fewer mass annihilation weapons, but none at all.

Brandt said he wanted to speak for those who were "bitterly disappointed that no political will to an agreement had showed up clearly at Geneva." Why, he asked, had the Soviet offer to destroy a considerable number of SS-20s, with on-the-spot inspection, not been tak-

leadership was finally following the party's rank and file into opposition to the deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles. It signalled the beginning of the almost inevitable SPD takeover of the movement. This prospect arouses sharp misgivings, notably among some Green Party leaders, who see the SPD giant getting ready to steal and water down their issues.

But to others, and in particular the Autumn Peace Action coordinating committee's chairman Jo Leinen, the coming

who had achieved the most extraordinary mass mobilization in recent history.

Coordination committee chair Leinen announced that there were nearly half a million people demonstrating in Bonn, 150,000 in West Berlin, 300,000 in Stuttgart and Neu Ulm in southern Germany, where the Pershing II missiles are to be deployed, and 400,000 in Hamburg, making it the largest demonstration in the northern port city's history.

As much as the numbers, the organization was stunning. To build the "human chain" from the Eucom U.S. forces headquarters in Europe at Stuttgart to Wiley barracks (a Pershing site) in Neu Ulm took not only 150,000 people but the organization to spread them out to the right places at the right time. It all went smoothly, with enough people for a double chain. Among them were four women—Betty Ellis, JoAnn Metz, Nancy Jones and Citizens Party candidate Kathy Anderson—from Women Against Military Madness in Minnesota, who were there to help link Neu Ulm in southern Germany with New Ulm in southern Minnesota, where a "celebration NEIN" was being held in solidarity.

In Bonn, at the symbolic "five minutes before 12," a double human chain surrounded the government center and looped over the Rhine to express the idea that "the government is a minority surrounded by the majority of the population demanding no new nuclear missiles in our country."

In the diplomatic suburb of Bad Godesberg, a second chain linked the embassies of the eight known nuclear powers—the U.S., the USSR, China, Britain, France, India, Israel and South Africa—to express the demand for universal disarmament.

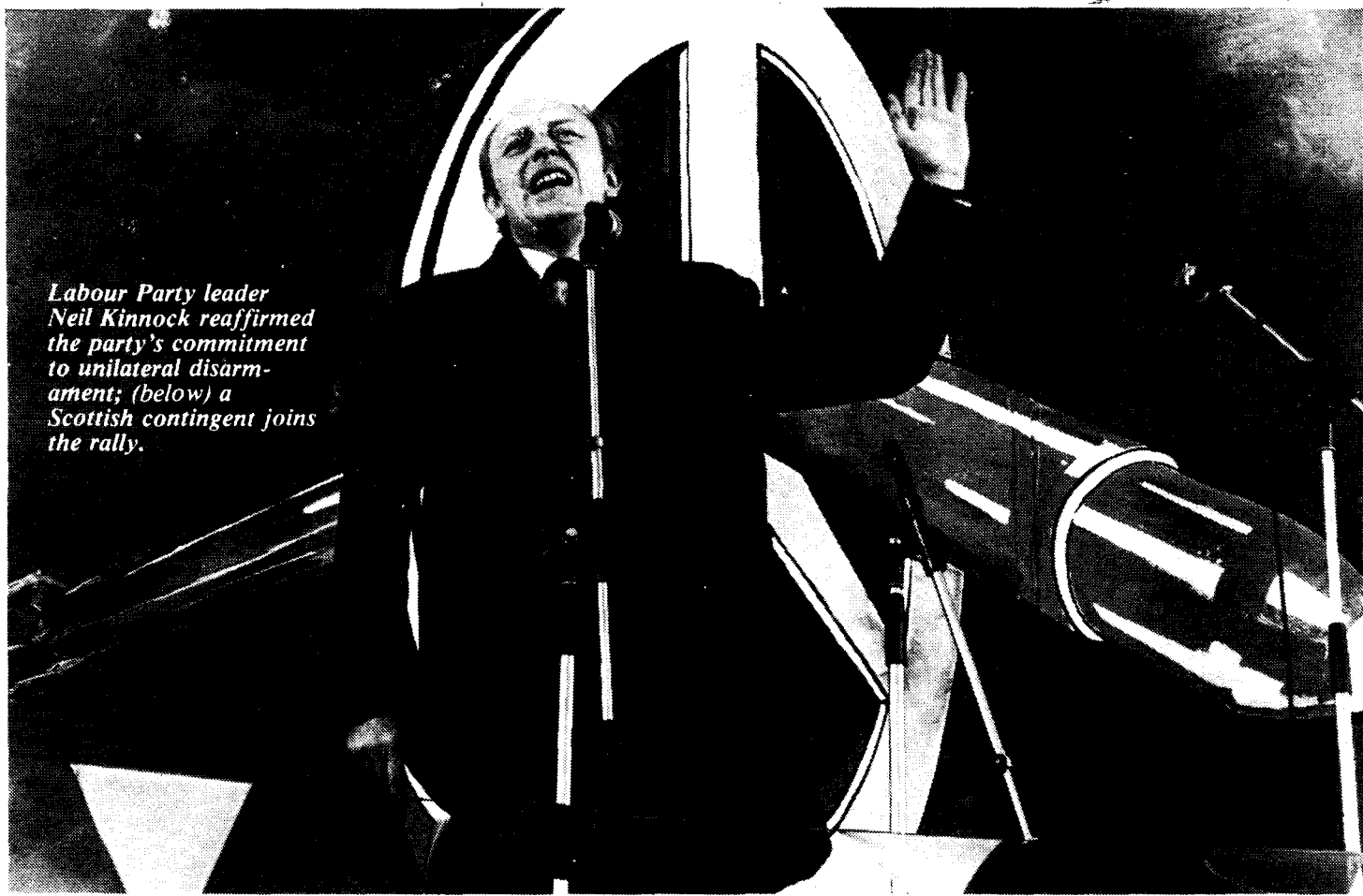
At the Bonn rally, East German Protestant pastor Heino Falcke said he admired the "body language" of the movement. He also stressed that Germans must strive "not only to prevent the coming world war, but to end the war that has long been being waged against the Third World and our natural environment." He said that "swords must be beaten into ploughshares that can create bread in the Third World."

Peace, environmental concerns and the Third World were constantly tied together.

Ilse Bruns, an official of the Trade Union Confederation DGB, said organized labor would not let the conservative government get away with its plan to limit the right to demonstrate. She said it was a "political disgrace" that plans for NATO missile deployment were already underway, and a "scandal" that the East German government had broken up independent peace demonstrations.

Communist Etty Gingold, speaking for survivors of the anti-fascist resistance, said that "even the most wild optimist among us would never have dared dream that the tradition of our struggle for peace would be carried on in such a powerful peace movement, supported by the majority of our people. We bring to it our bitter experience: Hitler, war and

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Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock reaffirmed the party's commitment to unilateral disarmament; (below) a Scottish contingent joins the rally.

Susan Greenberg

BRITAIN

CND death rumors prove exaggerated

By Susan Jaffe

LONDON

THE SAME DAY THAT THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organized the largest antinuclear rally in British history, newspapers here reported that American Cruise missiles would arrive 10 days later. Demonstrators also read in their morning papers that, according to a new public opinion poll, unilateral disarmament had lost support in Britain and opposition to the Cruise was waning (though 48 percent still oppose deployment, to 37 percent in favor). And a few days before the massive October 22 rally in Hyde Park, some right-wing graffiti artists in London pasted stickers over CND's ubiquitous publicity posters that read "Cancelled due to lack of public support" and "KGB-Approved."

Undaunted and unamused by such developments, the protesters filled the park, coming from as far away as Wales and Scotland. Overwhelmed police were unable to provide the media with a crowd estimate until the very end of the afternoon, and then it was half the number that a CND activist overheard on police radio. Scotland Yard claimed publicly

that 200,000 people were at the rally, but a CND spokeswoman quoted the Yard's internal count as 400,000.

Among those in the gathering were members of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's own party, a group called Tories Against Cruise and Trident, as well as the small Yanks Against Reagan. Historians for the Right to Work carried a banner reading "We demand a continuing supply of history." Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, Ron Todd of the 1.6-million-member Transport and General Workers union and Dorothy Cotton of the American Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign addressed the rally. Women and Families for Defense, a conservative answer to the Greenham Common women's peace camp, staged counterdemonstrations, as did the Coalition for Peace and Security, which serenaded the demonstrators as they marched to Hyde Park with recordings of a Thatcher speech followed by a rendition of the "Internationale." (Missing from the rally were the popular rock bands that perform at most American antinuclear rallies. Police do not allow music in royal parks so the rally was strictly political.)

Although most British political observers believe Cruise deployment is inevitable, Bruce Kent, general secretary of CND, told the crowd, "Never be pessi-

mistic. We have a long road ahead but we have achieved a great deal already...all over Europe millions of people are with us. And not only Europe but in America and Canada. We are really a partnership."

Kent cited several small recent victories against the Cruise, including the Pentagon's decision to keep the missiles inside the U.S. Greenham Common Air Base and away from the protesters. However, the agreement to station Cruise in Britain only permits launching from vehicles outside the base. Kent also argued that British soldiers should refuse assignments to guard the Cruise because the missiles are illegal under international law. "To release a nuclear weapon 15 times bigger than [that used on] Hiroshima is not only a sin, it is a crime," he said. Later CND Chairwoman Joan Ruddock told reporters that members of CND would lie in front of vehicles carrying the missiles. "It will be impossible to take those missiles onto British roads," she predicted.

Most of the rally speakers saw similar signs of encouragement. Neil Kinnock, the new Labour Party leader, looked out into the crowd and said, "This is the best answer to the Heseltines (defense minister) and Thatchers who say this movement is dead."

As head of the opposition party to the prime minister, Kinnock reiterated Labour's support for unilateral disarmament, a nuclear freeze, a no-first-strike policy on nuclear weapons by NATO and demanded that Britain's nuclear arsenal be put on the negotiating table in Geneva—stands that some political analysts believe cost Labour last June's election. "The argument that we can only negotiate from a position of superiority is a lethal absurdity," he said.

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Susan Greenberg

Israel

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percent being spent on debts and the several percent for settlements included in the budget for regular domestic expenditures). Thus, Labor's loudest criticism in the recent crisis was technical: Aidor should have devalued sooner, policy statements should be more consistent, more care should be taken not to cross the U.S. and so on. It could hardly even knock the way the banks were allowed to inflate their own shares. The practice began when Labor was still in power, and one of the main culprits was the Labor movement's Bank Hatoalim (Workers' Bank).

Yet for all its drama, the recent bailout was far from heralding a classic recession of the Israeli economy. The banks were in no danger of failing; nor has there been a rash of business bankruptcies or unemployment on the same level as in Western Europe and the U.S. Rather, the panic was a symptom of the country's faltering credibility on international money markets—the result of its trade deficits, and more important, of apparent concern over rumors that the Reagan administration might at some time stop propping up Israel's economy.

One current political explanation for the rumors notes that while in the past the U.S. often criticized Israel's aggressive

posture toward its neighbors and intransigence on settlements and the Palestinian issue, this was never translated into serious economic pressure. Apparently, the "criticism" was mostly expedient rhetoric and Washington actually backed Israel's actions. This thesis seems vindicated by the Lebanon adventure.

But now, for the first time, even Israel's most hawkish government ever has balked, mostly due to domestic pressure, at continuing to fight the American battle in and around Beirut. Could this, it is being asked, finally lead to the long-an-

ticipated economic crunch, if Washington decides consequently to diversify its portfolio of Mideast allies?

And what if a truly dovish government comes to power in Jerusalem and seeks to settle the whole conflict with Syria and the Palestinians, through cooperation with West Europeans and the Soviet Union? What would the Reagan administration do then? Can Israel afford to make peace? The implications for Israeli doves who have counted on the U.S. to help Israel make peace "in spite of itself" are nightmarish.

Lebanon

Continued from page 3

the Israelis to take out the Syrians, and if they are unwilling, the U.S. should do the job itself. In any case, both men argued, there is no point in maintaining U.S. forces at their present level and in their present defensive posture.

The Reagan administration is clearly caught in a dilemma. If it takes Will's and Kissinger's advice and expands the American military role in Lebanon, it could risk massive popular opposition at home, Arab anger in the Mideast and possibly Soviet intervention on the side of Syria. And it would probably still fail to win Lebanon for the Gemayel government. But if it continues on its present ambiguous course—maintaining American troop levels and commitments and

playing politics among the factions on behalf of the Gemayel government—it risks continued sniping at its troops, Israeli opposition to any inclusion of Syria and growing public skepticism about American objectives. It must also abandon any hope of uniting Lebanon under the Gemayel government.

Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), one of the most trenchant critics of the administration's policy, has argued that the problem is not simply the administration's strategy but its objectives. Nunn calls the goal of uniting Lebanon under Gemayel and the Phalangists "mission impossible."

Congressional torpor.

In September's vote on the War Powers Resolution, which authorized the Marine presence in Lebanon for 18 months, Democrats and Republicans split in unpredictable ways. Noted hawks like Nunn, Senators Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.), Daniel Quayle (R-Ind.) and Rep. Samuel

Stratton (D-N.Y.) opposed having the U.S. Marines in Lebanon. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) privately urged the president to talk to the Syrians.

House liberal Democrats Barnes, Sol-arz, Edward Markey (D-Mass.) and Robert Kostmayer (D-Pa.) supported the War Powers compromise. Speaker Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.) was responsible for its victory in the House.

One reason for this odd mixture is the influence of the Israeli lobby on liberal Democrats. But some Israel supporters who have large Jewish constituencies, like Los Angeles Democrat Henry Waxman, opposed the War Powers resolution.

In the wake of the bombing, few House or Senate members suggested an immediate withdrawal. A resolution for immediate withdrawal introduced by Rep. Lane Evans (D-Ill.) secured only three co-sponsors. Most members of Congress agreed with the administration that a precipitous withdrawal of American forces after the bombing would vindicate terrorist attacks.

Sen. Humphrey, who was in Beirut the weekend of the bombing, voiced his concern in a press conference October 25. He reiterated his opposition to the introduction of American troops, but he noted, "The question of inserting forces into an area is not the same as the question of taking them out. The administration has to weigh the effect of a precipitous withdrawal. Does it send a message to terrorists that they can get rid of Americans any time they want? I think the answer is 'yes.'"

But while O'Neill, Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Texas), Barnes and other liberals continue to equivocate, Humphrey, Nunn, Quayle and other erstwhile hawks contend that the administration must formulate a plan for replacing American troops with either a UN force or a special contingent of Third World forces. These Senate hawks constitute a formidable opposition to any escalation of the American military presence in Lebanon.

Popular opposition.

Public opinion can be very fickle on foreign policy issues, but there is a bedrock of popular opposition to the presence of U.S. Marines in Lebanon—confirmed by every opinion poll in the last year. Writing before the bombing, political analyst Kevin Phillips warned that the American military involvement in Lebanon "is emerging as a major no-win situation for the White House and the GOP."

In the wake of the bombings and the invasion of Grenada, opposition to the American military presence can only be expected to increase. If the Reagan administration still has Marines in Lebanon in November 1984, it could suffer the same consequences that the Carter administration suffered for its failure to free the hostages in Iran.

But if this does occur, will the new Democratic president offer any alternative? The four Democratic candidates who stand little chance of winning the nomination—Sen. Gary Hart, former Sen. George McGovern, former Gov. Reuben Askew, Sen. Fritz Hollings—responded to the bombing by calling for American withdrawal. But the three contenders hedged.

Sen. John Glenn offered his four-point plan for Lebanon, which called upon the administration to "present to the American people and the Congress a clear and well-defined statement of our mission in Lebanon." But Glenn did not suggest what this statement should include. Sen. Alan Cranston said that the administration should "not immediately abandon the peace effort in Lebanon" but should "withdraw the Marines to a more defensible position off shore." Cranston also called upon the administration to "define...a specific, achievable mission for any U.S. deployment," but failed to suggest what the mission should be.

Former Vice-President Walter Mondale's response was typical. Scheduled to speak on October 25 to a Jewish luncheon, he cancelled his appearance and declined any comment on the administration's policy.

IN THESE TIMES

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Grenada

Continued from page 6

anxiety and tension in the country. And the new government, with its meager military and economic resources, could do little to offset it.

Now, after Bishop's ouster, the *New York Times* laments the fact that the Reagan administration did not seek accommodation with Bishop. The fact is, however, that the kind of demagogic military regime that emerged in St. George's after Bishop's fall—one isolated from its own people and at the same time discredited throughout the Caribbean—was a much easier target for the kind of offensive Reagan had been launching in Central America and the Caribbean since he took office. Thus Reagan produced a situation in Grenada that en-

abled him to launch the invasion.

The Grenada invasion draws attention to a third, more underlying, factor—one that has confronted revolutionary socialists throughout the world since 1917. It is immensely difficult to build a new society—one that is both revolutionary and democratic—amid conditions of imperialist assault and domestic crisis. Apart from the military and economic problems of maintaining power in such situations, as shown in Nicaragua, Cuba and elsewhere, there is the problem of maintaining party unity, the trust of the population and precarious democratic norms within societies long subjected to repression from within and without and then to the threat of sabotage and invasion.

Grenada underwent two centuries of slavery, a further century of British colonialism and a five-year spell of dictatorship after independence in 1974. It was on the basis of this past, in a country where at least two-thirds of the population had left to seek work in Trinidad, the

U.S. or Britain, and where per capita income was \$625 in 1981, that the New Jewel Movement tried to establish power. No one can accept this legacy as justification for what happened, but at the same time no one can ignore the importance of such a past in constricting and distorting any attempt to build a socialist democracy in these times.

Grenada's fate is now uncertain. Before the U.S. invasion, it had already lost the leadership that could have maintained popular support and international acceptance. The country now faces the prospect of bloody terror imposed by outside intervention, a slump in living standards, long and sporadic resistance and the gruesome expectations of U.S.-imposed dictatorship throughout the world: blockade, disappearances and some trumped-up neo-colonial regime composed of local counterrevolutionaries and exiles brought back from abroad. Cuba's clear and principled denunciation of the St. George's coup prior to the invasion indi-

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cated that the Hudson Austin military regime would have received no political backing from that quarter.

Cuba has paid a heavy price in the U.S. intervention, both in the death of its citizens who defended Grenada against the attack and in the fact that it has suffered the greatest setback in its dealings with South America and the Caribbean since the fall of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government in Chile in 1973.

No one can now be sure what the consequences will be for Central America as a whole. The diplomatic costs of the Grenada invasion are enormous for the Reagan administration and will have long term consequences in Latin America.

The price that the Marines have had to pay for taking over a country as small as Grenada will certainly make the administration think twice before attempting an outright attack on Nicaragua, let alone Cuba.

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Painting by Celia: a Salvadoran refugee in the Manuel Franco Refugee Center Managua, Nicaragua

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By Pat Aufderheide

LOS ANGELES

A TELEPHONE OPERATOR ON a picket line is a striker. But when Ed Asner walks a picket line, it's a photo opportunity.

That's one difference between the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) and its fellow unions—the glamor factor. But the Screen Actors Guild, whose presidential election results should be announced this week, hasn't been in the spotlight recently only because it's the bit of sparkle in the labor field.

There is a struggle going on in the Screen Actors Guild for self-definition, at a time when the contours of film and TV production are changing faster than Woody Allen's Leonard Zelig could assume a new identity.

SAG has been rocked by controversy since the 1980 actors' strike. At that time, Ed Asner became Guild president and an ugly spate of infighting started when Charlton Heston and other conservatives charged Asner and other liberals on the Guild's board with "politicizing" the union.

Heston was already lambasting the Guild for donating \$5,000 to the families of striking PATCO workers and for setting up a speakers' bureau to aid other unions when Asner, speaking for a group called Medical Aid for El Salvador, publicly turned over a check for \$25,000 to the Salvadoran opposition. Asner said it was a personal gesture, but according to Heston, it implicated the Guild. (The taint extended to the "Lou Grant" series, where, because advertisers feared viewer disaffection, the show was cancelled.)

A watchdog group, Actors Working for an Actors Guild (AWAG), was form-

ed by conservatives to keep an eye on what they called "confrontational" tactics of liberals.

Many saw the controversy as a resurgence of the political warfare that marked the Guild in the '30s. They recalled, too, the McCarthy era, when the Guild made itself a handmaiden to the House UnAmerican Activities Committee.

But this is no reprise of former political battles. These days, the conservative assault is merely a backdrop for new drama.

Believe It or Not.

The fact that a screen actors' union exists at all might well be a "Believe It or Not" item. Consider: this is a union in which only 15 percent of the members work on any given day, and in which four-fifths of them make less than \$5,000 annually at their union-card profession. Many of them don't make much more at other jobs—over a quarter of the Los Angeles and New York members live below the poverty level. It's a tiny union, around 52,000 members, and it covers only part of the performing field. Many SAG members also belong to the American Federation of TV and Radio Artists (AFTRA) and some wallets bulge with union cards for stage, nightclub and music as well.

"America has never supported its artists—most performers have never been able to make a living by their art," points out SAG information director Kim Feller. Maybe it's the tenacious quality of that fact that accounts for the existence of SAG at all. Before it was founded in 1933, screen actors put in work days that recalled Hitchcock's "actors are cattle" remark sound like a prescription for the good life.

"You could work for 18 to 20 hours," recalled Leon Ames, longtime SAG board member and one-time president,

in a SAG-sponsored collection of oral histories. "Hell, 24 hours, if you could stay awake long enough." Actors organized a union that challenged the big daddy authority of movie moguls, although they were still anxious to stay in the studio family.

As one founder, character actor Bradley Page, put it, "Bless their hearts, the producers had their organization, and why shouldn't the actors have theirs?"

But the "family" is falling apart. "Now," says labor relations attorney Howard Fabrick, who represents employers in production contracts, "what they call the collaborative production process is an amalgamation of different little entities. The whole system went from total control by eight studios to complete fragmentation."


Fragmentation in the system of production went hand-in-hand with control of the industry's finances by conglomerates. The change didn't happen overnight. In 1948 an antitrust action made it illegal for movie studios to control theaters, thus shrinking their formal em-

pires. Then TV challenged film studios hegemony. By the late '60s, what once had been a dream factory turned into a collage of cottage industries, and the end of the deal had arrived.

Studios began to act more like bankers, arranging for funds and distribution of "independent"-made films. Film productions floated around the world buoyed up by the strong U.S. dollar and the favorable foreign exchange rate it created. Large companies, even multinationals, snapped up studios. Mel Brooks in *Silent Movie* didn't dub his fictive conglomerate "Engulf and Devour" for nothing.

SAG found itself up against a too-familiar problem for all unions today: it was ready to take on an opponent that was vanishing. It had over the year fought and won excellent wages and working conditions, but enforcement was growing difficult.

At the same time that the studio era passed, the actors' union grew dramati-



The make-up of the film industry has undergone a dramatic shift. And so must the strategy of the Screen Actors Guild.

cally, thanks in part to the increase of jobs in TV commercials. SAG's 13,000 membership roll in 1960 ballooned to 25,000 by 1971 and doubled again in a decade. Many of those who got a job in a commercial—their ticket into SAG—didn't find another job soon. Others working in films watched production shrink as blockbusters soaked up budgets.

Just as the world of work was changing, so was SAG's constituency. The largely Los Angeles crowd of film actors that had always defined the Guild was getting outnumbered by actors who the old guard saw as having less skill, and who might work their entire lives without making a movie. Many of the new members signed up in New York, which doubled its membership between 1956 and 1962. By 1970 it had a membership that rivalled the West Coast—and, after much pressuring, proportional represen-

tation in the union, too.

The old Guild had mirrored the old studio star system. Big names ran the show. If the Guild looked something like a club, this did not reflect pure-and-simple elitism, but the strength that stars brought the union. And then it reflected elitism, too, or at least a distinction between a professional association of artists and a union of workers.

A new vision for SAG.

In the '70s, a new vision began to creep into SAG, with a succession of liberal presidents that began with Dennis Weaver. The ascendancy of these people—who were typically successful actors but not stars—also reflected the changes in SAG's membership.

"It was a kind of palace revolution," remembers Norma Connelly, Aunt

Ruby on *General Hospital* and SAG board member. "They were working actors. They knew what concerned the rank-and-file actor and they thought that the stars, for all their good intentions, didn't have a clue.

"Kathleen Nolan [who followed Weaver as president] also gave SAG a presence in Washington, D.C., and she introduced a dozen or so committees with advisory power that increased rank-and-file participation. There was a legal committee, and one for children and one for minorities."

Janet MacLachlan, a black actress who recently worked in the PBS production *For Us the Living*, recalls her work as liaison between the women's and minorities committees. "Together, as women and minorities, we represented over 50 percent of the Guild," she says. "We realized that united we could be a potent force—no one had ever threatened the position of the predominantly white male board. We didn't want to be adversarial, but it was hard even to get adult recognition from board members."

The rank-and-filers' "revolution" meant infringement on old privilege. "You mean, I would no longer have the right to use my art to portray an Indian?" one actor asked MacLachlan indignantly. "We are asking that an Indian have an equal chance at that role," she replied.

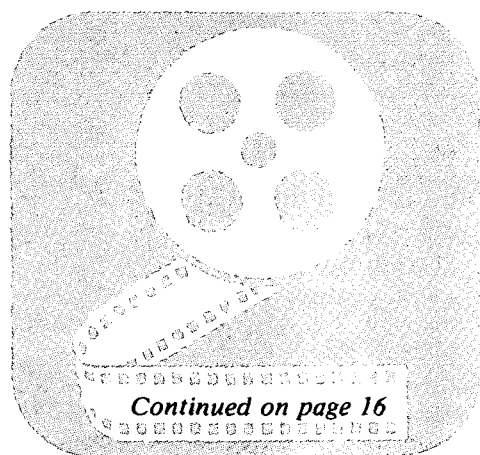
The rise of the liberals also meant a change in the kinds of political gestures that the Guild made. Among other things, the Guild in those years offered support for the Equal Rights Amendment and for the J.P. Stevens boycott. When Anita Bryant stirred up anti-gay sentiment, the board passed a resolution censuring "such attacks on civil liberties and human rights," and it opposed the 1978 California Prop. 6, the "Briggs initiative." The father-knows-best style of leadership of the old days was gone,

along with its close focus on traditional dollars-and-cents issues.

Murmurs of discontent and shuffling of board slots turned into counter-organizing in the wake of the 1980 strike, which forced many actors into thinking for the first time about their union. From a strategic point of view, the strike should never have happened; but the timing was perfect to point up dramatic changes in the world of production.

Two words make a quick-and-dirty summary of those changes: "Pay-TV." Or, if you like, "New Technologies"—Cassette. Cable. Direct broadcast satellite. Pay-per-view. Live performances, film work and TV work suddenly overlapped, sometimes marketed in a way never handled by previous union contracts.

In the 1980 negotiations, SAG had to set a precedent. How were producers going to pay actors for their work—what percentage of the profit? Net or gross? How many times would a product reach an audience before residuals begin? Actors wanted to make sure they didn't sell any birthrights. Memories of the 1960



Continued on page 16

EDITORIAL

BONZO GOES TO WAR

FEATURING
THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF
(AS HIMSELF)



Mike Peters, United Media Enterprises

Grenada invasion is a major step-up of Reagan aggression

The struggle for peace is indivisible. We cannot pick and choose where we will support freedom. We can only determine how.
—Ronald Reagan, October 24

With 1984 only two months away, our president has demonstrated his mastery of newspeak. Where do we support freedom? Wherever it doesn't exist—in El Salvador, in South Africa, in the Philippines, in Lebanon. How do we support peace? By making war.

Reagan and his aides and allies also tell us that nowhere are we engaged in hostilities, much less war or invasion. Thus Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, appearing with Reagan at a press conference to lend the semblance of collective action to the invasion of Grenada, insisted that this action was "not an invasion," but was merely intended to help the people of Grenada "choose for themselves" the type of government they want. And the president insists that the Marines who were blown to bits in Beirut were not engaged in hostilities, but were simply "peacekeepers," blocking the path of an evil force waiting to take over the Mideast—"a force" that "is ready to do that." And Reagan has repeatedly insisted that the U.S. is not engaged in war against Nicaragua. At first, he claimed that he was merely trying to stop the flow of arms to the rebels in El Salvador. When it became clear that there was no longer a detectable flow of arms he insisted that the Sandinistas were destabilizing Central America, and that he was simply trying to quiet things down.

But, in fact, in Nicaragua, Grenada and Lebanon the use of American force—whether "covert" or overt—is the major destabilizing force, a force that consistently creates what the administration claims to be opposing. In Nicaragua, encouragement of the *contras* has steadily undermined the possibilities for pluralist democracy and has left the Sandinistas with no alternative but to become steadily more dependent on Cuban and Soviet aid. In Lebanon, the presence of U.S. Marines has virtually eliminated the pos-

sibility of a peaceful accommodation of the various contesting forces. In Grenada, the American invasion has eliminated any chance for self-determination.

And in all three areas the administration's bellicose moves have vastly increased the chances of an escalation of hostilities that could lead to world war.

Reagan tells us that his primary reason for invading Grenada was to secure the safety of the 700 American medical students at St. Georges University medical school. But four plane loads of students left the island unhindered the day before the invasion, the remaining ones said they were unconcerned about their safety, and Charles Modica, chancellor of the university at its facility in New York, and other school officials said they had no reason to believe the students on Grenada were in any danger.

In the coup three weeks ago in which Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, three cabinet members, two labor leaders and others were murdered by soldiers under the command of Gen. Hudson Austin, the issues were murky. The administration initially claimed that the coup was carried out under the direction of the Cubans or the Soviets—a charge repeated after the invasion by Dominica Prime Minister Charles. But the Cubans denounced the coup, which was clearly not in their self interest or in that of the Soviets. Even had there been no invasion, the murderous seizure of power was a propaganda windfall for Reagan hardliners. Indeed, in the absence of any other evidence, based solely on the principle of who benefits, the coup would easily have been one more CIA operation. The "brutal group of leftist thugs," as Reagan called Gen. Austin and his supporters, may yet turn out to have acted under American direction.

Reagan aggression.

The invasion of this tiny island nation in clear violation of the Organization of American States charter (which forbids intervention in the internal affairs of any state for any reason without an invita-

tion) marks a major escalation in Reagan administration aggression. In Nicaragua, the U.S. is only indirectly engaged in hostilities. In Lebanon, American troops are present as a result of a war started by Israel. But in Grenada, the U.S. is openly resuming the role of world policeman—a role that most Americans had hoped and believed was ended with the defeat of American forces in Vietnam.

Reagan's excuse for this action is the same as it is for Nicaragua and Lebanon, and for his plans to place Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. It is

*In Nicaragua,
the U.S. is only
indirectly
engaged. In
Lebanon, U.S.
troops came
on the heels of
the Israeli war.
But in Grenada,
Reagan is playing
world policeman.*

part of what he sees as a struggle of the "free" world against uncivilized barbarians. He may even believe this rhetoric, but if so it makes the situation into which we are being plunged all the more dangerous. If every attempt at revolutionary change by oppressed peoples in the Third World is seen as part of a Soviet plot, if every manifestation of popular hostility to the U.S. because of its support for undemocratic regimes is seen as an attack on the American people, then we are headed for global disaster and inevitable defeat.

The nature of the revolutionary movements in various Third World countries is not really the issue. Whether such regimes are democratically elected, as was the case in Chile, attempts at revolutionary pluralism, as in Nicaragua, or military dictatorships, as the short-lived regime in Grenada seemed to be, successive American administrations have done their best to undermine and destroy them. By casting every attempt at self-determination and social progress as the result of Soviet plots, the Reagan administration is doing its best to create the bi-polar world of its rhetoric.

But that bi-polar world never existed, not even when the world Communist movement actually was directed from Moscow decades ago. In recent years even the Communist world has become increasingly diverse, in large part because of attempts by Communist countries to move away from the undemocratic character of the Soviet Union. And if the Soviet model is unpopular even in Communist countries it is even less emulated by revolutionary regimes in the Third World—even in countries that have no democratic traditions or experience.

After the Vietnam war ended, in large part because of popular pressure, the U.S. did move toward policies that were less hostile to revolutionary change—at least on the surface. This was done largely under popular pressure that resulted from the realization that we were not in Vietnam to support democracy or freedom, that the people of Vietnam in overwhelming numbers saw us as colonial oppressors.

For a while, at least in the Democratic Party, many of our political leaders acted as if they understood that revolutions and revolutionary movements could not be orchestrated by Moscow, that they were the result of conditions within each country and that in many instances it was the U.S., not the Soviets, that shared responsibility for revolution—not because of its support of the revolutionaries, but because of its role in sponsoring the oppressors.

When Reagan was elected president, he made no secret of his intentions to bring us back to the pre-Vietnam days of Cold War confrontation. When his initial attempts to intervene in Central America met with popular opposition it became clear that he had no mandate to do so. But while that slowed him down a bit, it did not stop him.

Now it is clear that his policies in Lebanon, Nicaragua and Grenada remain unpopular—the initial polls on Grenada indicate 43 percent of the people opposed Reagan's invasion and only 17 percent supported it. But one would never know this if one looked to the Democratic opposition's response. House Speaker Tip O'Neill and the leading presidential contenders have either supported Reagan's actions or mumbled incoherently, waiting, no doubt to see which way the wind blows. True, unlike the Vietnam days, the Democrats are not now leading us into aggression, but neither are they offering any leadership in opposition. Once again, if we are not to continue on the road to disaster, the leadership will have to come from grassroots movements and popular initiatives.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

FORGET ELECTABILITY

JOAN WALSH'S INFORMATIVE coverage (*ITT*, Oct. 12) of the Democratic candidates' parade before NOW's recent convention was burdened with one serious negative: the myth that NOW or any other would-be endorsing organization should be worrying about a candidate's "electability" at this early stage of the 1984 race.

Realistically, the fear that an ultimately nominated candidate might either downplay or ignore women's issues should NOW chose to endorse someone else early on would seem to be a motivating factor in the "electability" consideration, and, contrary to the assertion that choosing an "electable" candidate now would lend credibility and clout to an organization, NOW would risk embarrassing itself greatly by endorsing a candidate about whom they actually harbored such concerns.

There will be time enough come August 1984 for NOW to deal with the Democratic nominee's "electability" vis-a-vis President Reagan and to deliver campaign workers and votes in a demonstration of legitimate clout. In the meantime, if the organization values its integrity and real-world credibility, it would do well to heed former Sen. George McGovern's admonition and support a candidate it feels best represents women's concerns. Leave the political toadying to the candidates.

—Jim Bickhart
Santa Barbara

REFRESHING DISCOVERY

GREAT PAPER! LIVING IN A PRINTED news wasteland such as our society, it's refreshing to read a more thorough and critical analysis of the events that shape our lives. And living in a territorial possession of that society whose only function is being a vacation land for the wealthy and watering hole for the "guardians of the wealthy"—the U.S. Navy—the refreshment can be compared to...well, use your imagination, since we all have different imaginings of refreshment.

—R. Michael Clark
St. Thomas, V.I.

SELLING SPACE

SHAME ON YOU. ON PAGE 11 OF YOUR October 19 edition appears an advertisement for the Communist Workers Party. What is a respectable socialist journal like *ITT* doing with a Communist advertisement? Communism, as practiced these days, is as repugnant to socialists as capitalism. *ITT* has credibility because it refuses to tolerate Communism. The Communists have their own newspapers in which to publicize their causes. *ITT* should never sell out to Communism just for advertising dollars.

—Dino Joseph Drudi
Brookland, D.C.

Editor's note: We also take ads from capitalists without selling out.

SHAMIR AND THE NAZIS

AS AN ISRAELI, I AM ASTONISHED and offended that my country,

which was created in the wake of the Holocaust, would choose as its leader a man who sought relations with Nazi Germany during World War II. Israel's new head of state, Yitzhak Shamir, led an organization (Lehi) which attempted to ally itself with the Germans in 1940-41. This incredible fact was disclosed and wisely publicized in Israel last winter, (*Ha'aretz*, Jan. 31, Feb. 3 and 6), but it didn't prevent the Israeli parliament from confirming Shamir as prime minister.

What a slap in the face of history! Here is a summary of Shamir's Nazi connection as compiled from the Israeli press:

When Yitzhak Shamir came to Palestine in 1935, he joined the Etzel, the right-wing underground, which was led by ex-Prime Minister Begin, and which received training in fascist Italy military camps. At this time the Etzel was pursuing armed struggle against the British in Palestine.

In 1940, Etzel split over whether to continue military operations against the British while the latter were fighting Nazi Germany. Out of the split, Lehi, or the "Stern Gang," was formed. It maintained that not only should the armed struggle continue, but also that "if our obligation is to fight the enemy, we are permitted to be helped by the enemy of our enemy." (See *Lo-hamei Herut Israel* [Lehi]: *People, Ideas, Deeds* by N. Yelin-Mor, Jerusalem 1975). Shamir joined Lehi and later became its leader.

Until the end of 1941, Lehi tried to convince the Germans that it deserved military help from the Axis. They sent an agent, Naftali Lubentchik, to Beirut who presented Lehi's proposal to German diplomat Otto von Hentig. That document was found after the war in the German embassy in Turkey. Copies are kept, among other places, in Yad Vashem, the Jerusalem Holocaust archives.

—Susan Mordechay
West Los Angeles, Calif.

NICARAGUAN ANTI-SEMITISM

IS THERE GOVERNMENT ANTI-SEMITISM in Nicaragua? Your October 5 article claimed there isn't. The same article, however, provided evidence that while it may not be government directed, anti-Semitism prevails among one of Sandinista's chief allies, Nicaragua's pro-government newspaper *El Nuevo Diario*. The paper's charges of Ronald Reagan's "Jewish ancestry," and of the Jewish control of "the world's money, banking and finance," are blatantly anti-Semitic and belong in the same literature as *The Protocols of Zion*. If the Sandinistas think in the same spirit as *Nuevo Diario*, they have my hostility, though they may well find friends among the John Birch Society. If they don't, then let them denounce the paper for what it is. And if progressive Jews are asked to condemn Zionism, it's outrageous to request that we view anti-Semitism among supposed leftists merely as reaction against Israel. It's reaction, all right. Reactionary! Personally, if my people continue to be used as convenient pariahs, going by the name Jew or Zionist, then I'll rest my loyalties with Israel. It's certainly not perfect, but as the article showed, neither are socialist models like Nicaragua.

—Jonathan Field
Albuquerque, N.M.

ROSENBERG FILE

JIM WEINSTEIN'S REVIEW OF *THE ROSENBERG FILE* (*ITT*, Sept. 14) was basically right both about the book and the case. But his response to the letters (*ITT*, Oct. 12) was something else again—disingenuous and careless.

I don't find that it was shameful to have made an attempt, however amateurish, to break the U.S. monopoly on atomic weapons. How can those who argue today that Mutual Assured Destruction is what has kept the peace (an argument I don't buy) say that what Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were accused of doing was treasonous? Can one picture the kind of world we would have been living in had the U.S. retained its monopoly on atomic weapons?

But Julius Rosenberg was not honest, nor was the Communist Party. Fear of smearing all CPUSA activity with the brush of espionage was certainly a part of this reluctance to stand up and say, "Yes, we did it, and we think the world is better for it." Or even, "Yes, I am a Communist and felt it my duty to protect the Workers State in whatever way possible," which would have been an accurate reflection of Communist ideology at the time. In any event, it did not break this monopoly, even if all the charges against them were true.

Doug Matthews complains that Weinstein's review did not address the charges in the *Guardian* article of September 7. In answer to Matthews' citing the claims of John Gates, Junius Scales and Max Gordon that they had been misquoted, Weinstein says, "Scales has since confirmed the substance of the quotations attributed to him in a letter to the *New York Times Book Review* (September 18). From this, one can only conclude that Weinstein can't read or is as careless in his research as Radosh. In fact, after *The New Republic* published Radosh's and Sol Stern's piece two years ago, Scales objected vehemently that he offered only third-hand material he had heard long after he left the Party. At that time, in their response, Radosh and Stern conceded they should not have quoted Scales in this connection. But then they left the quote in the book. Far from corroborating their claim in his letter to the *Times*, Scales charged that his interview was "outrageously distorted" and repeated that he had never heard of the Rosenbergs until they were arrested. This time, Radosh and Milton in effect call Scales a liar, adding that, besides, what was the difference since what he admits (that he had heard a story that the Rosenbergs' names had been removed from the *Daily Worker*

subscribers list) proves their point. On the contrary, it proves that Radosh lied.

Finally, on the comment of Cammett, Cook, et al., Weinstein's major response is that they cite Jerry Tartakow's evidence to support their argument after they've just spent several paragraphs debunking his evidence. But it is not Tartakow these historians cited to prove their point, but the FBI files.

—Alfred Greenberg
Larchmont, N.Y.

Editor's note: Greenberg is correct on the Scales letter. I regret this carelessness.

BEING THERE

I CANNOT EASILY EXPRESS MY JOY TO read an article of such fine quality as Richard Kaye's "Gay Body Politics" (*ITT*, Oct. 19). He articulated a perspective on the current state of affairs in the gay community and its impact in our world which one rarely gets to experience outside of gay circles (most specifically, outside of radical lesbian feminist circles). In these times *In These Times* is a source of a glimmer of hope on a sea of shattered dreams. You help me not to lose sight of my priorities.

I have sensed over the past months your increasing commitment to feminist and gay issues, a higher level of consciousness which runs as a thread throughout your consistently excellent reportage. It is rare that I read an issue and do not discover at least one piece that is truly outstanding (sensitive, insightful, informative, provocative and stimulating). One thing I would appreciate would be the inclusion of addresses of organizations that are struggling to confront the issues discussed in your articles. For example, if Kaye could have included a list of gay activist organizations across the country after his piece. I often feel stimulated to action by *ITT*, but need contact information.

Thank you for being there, *ITT*. I am renewing my subscription and will send more \$ when I can.

—Kate Gregory
Escondido, Calif.

KUDOS

Dolores Wilber, art director of *In These Times* recently won *Folio* magazine's gold award in the consumer/special interest division for a 1982 direct mail package for the newspaper. Last year Dolores won a certificate of merit from *Folio*. Also, former *In These Times* circulation director Pat Van der Meer, now publisher of *The Progressive*, won a gold award in the same division. Our congratulations to both of them.

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SAG

Continued from page 13

strike are still strong. Then, the issue was how actors would be paid for TV's use of old movies. They finally gave up residuals rights for all movies made before 1960.

If actors didn't know what tomorrow would look like, neither did management. And, in fact, on the management side were sitting a wary group of cut-throat competitors. "Three networks that were worried about their competition from pay TV sat on the same side of the room with people supplying product for pay TV," recalls lawyer Fabrick. "You had companies without studios and companies with studios, and you had theatrical companies already thinking about producing for pay TV."

Management could see screenwriters and directors following the actors, negotiating contracts that would address the same problem. And so they held their ground. So did actors—there was no scabbing. But by the time the strike was settled, actors were worse off in contract terms than they would have been on the first day of the strike. Film studios' losses were buffered by other branches of their parent companies. And networks found they could collect ad revenues for reruns during the strike.

The lesson of the '80 strike for some was that traditional union tactics were no longer good enough. "SAG mounted the most successful strike this town has ever seen," recalls Kim Fellner, the SAG information director who started in the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). "And at some level it didn't matter—the studios could take that strike for a long time. We're going to have to look at the weapons in our arsenal. Dealing with conglomerates changes the rules."

For others, the strike was proof of the failure of Guild leadership. Charlton

Heston charged, after Asner's election, "The long, crippling and essentially fruitless strike was not constructive. This leadership has a confrontational attitude."

Heston's solutions for the chronic and acute unemployment problems of actors emphasize working within the system. He has proposed, for instance, what other unions call "givebacks." He advocates establishing a dialog with producers adjusting SAG wages and working conditions clauses. He also thinks SAG, as the guild it calls itself, should make actors' training a priority and he points to such examples as the SAG conservatory and the American Film Institute's Los Angeles campus.

This may not look like much of an agenda for a labor union, but then for Heston, SAG is not a real part of the labor movement. "The current leaders see themselves as Big Labor, arms akimbo, marching into the future," Heston says. "But interunion solidarity is meaningless for us. We don't need help—the Guild can shut down an entire industry without even mounting a picket line. The only reason we attract Big Labor's attention is because some people in SAG are very well known."

In fact, for many in AWAG, which claims 450-650 members, the very notion that SAG is a union is insulting. AWAG in 1982 even called for SAG to withdraw from the AFL-CIO; the resolution was, however, roundly defeated.

"We are different from other unions," AWAG chair Mark McIntire says, "because we are not paid for what we produce with our hands. We are paid for what we create with our minds, our hearts and our souls."

An ex-seminarian and philosophy professor, McIntire says he takes as a model for SAG the medieval crafts guild.

For AWAG member Marie Windsor, a SAG board member for the past 21 years and an actress who has recently appeared in TV series (*Simon and Simon*, *Charlie's Angels*), the Guild today is betraying actors.

The current leadership, of course, disagrees. They claim they are reaching out

to their nearest allies—others in the labor movement. They suggest that merger with other performing unions—especially AFTRA and the Screen Extras Guild (SEG)—would give them more leverage in negotiations and wider, more consolidated jurisdiction in contracts. But SAG members rejected both mergers in votes last year. One of the reasons was that merger would mean that the best-off sections of the unions involved would have to give up something.

"I think there's a class distinction between extras and actors—and that somebody exploited that issue when we voted on it," says SAG's Norma Connelly. Who suggested by McIntire's description of extras: "three-dimensional objects."

Heston spells out the economic implication this way: "I'm working on a film right now in South Carolina," he said in June, "precisely because it's not in SEG jurisdiction—it's SAG actors, but non-SEG extras. If the merger had succeeded, this production would be being made in Canada. I'd still be working in it, but how about the less well-known actors?"

But merger now seems inevitable, if still distant. AFTRA and SAG are negotiating prime-time contracts jointly, and the two unions are ironing out differences on such issues as the pension plan.

Merger isn't the only weapon that the current leaders are trying out. Another is an active role in the political arena. Asner's own high political profile—he continues to speak out as an individual on El Salvador, for instance—is a great irritant, not only to conservatives but also to many union members who simply feel that politics has no place in union business. Not only Asner's own character irks them, but also such board actions as a July 1982 resolution calling for a halt to the nuclear arms race—an implicit endorsement of the freeze initiative.

But Asner and others argue that a political presence is crucial to any union's self-defense. For instance, the West Coast board voted to oppose California Prop. A last year. The proposition would have prevented county employees from striking, and the Guild board saw it as a precedent-setting piece of anti-unionism.

"And I'll keep on pushing for us to endorse political candidates," says Asner, who watched this proposal get squelched in a SAG vote last year. "I think we need legislative clout, and events have borne me out in terms of legislative attacks on us this year in Sacramento."

It's not as if SAG never had a political presence before. Consider a SAG referendum from Jan. 15, 1948, requiring that all Guild officers sign statements saying they were not members of the Communist Party, and recommending at the same time that the board fight to repeal the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act.

And it's not as if former presidents kept their fingers out of political pies. SAG records hail the attendance of Guild president Leon Ames at a White House conference on U.S. foreign policy in 1958. But politics in tune with the current administration is patriotism; only opposition is political. And opposition can be costly, in terms of internal support. Members rarely appreciate political controversy; their eyes are focused on contracts.

The rise of liberals on SAG's board was fueled by a claim to wider participation in an already democratically structured union. Now the challenges to the leadership come not only from the confusing changes in the industry but also from within the union. Both the old guard and the newest constituencies are confronting SAG's leadership on the question of union democracy.

AWAG's boycott of the recent SAG election, it claims, is a protest against SAG election procedure. AWAG chair McIntire calls the SAG board's endorsement of some candidates a "fascist election procedure." In the last board election, no AWAG candidates—all of whom lacked board endorsement—were seated, although they were the next 13 runners-up.

Coming from self-defined elitists, the charge of undemocratic behavior may seem opportunistic. But the issue of democratic participation is a live one. It

comes from some minority members, as well. Asner's only opponent in the election is J.D. Hall, a black who is calling for greater rank-and-file participation and more affirmative action.

Minorities have, of course, been hardest hit by shrinking film production, and some of them feel they've listened to too much talk about creating new work opportunity without seeing any of it. In February, someone leaked a confidential board report on minority hiring in the film industry. It revealed that blacks were cast in less than 5 percent of all roles and Hispanics in less than 3 percent.

The minorities committee—one of the creations of the Nolan era—argued that SAG should demand in its upcoming negotiations that producers cast minorities in 20 to 25 percent of all roles. If they couldn't do so immediately, they should agree to a timetable. But the wages and working conditions committee, convinced that members would never go for a strike and therefore anxious to set winnable goals, rejected the proposition in favor of tightening existing procedures. In protest, minorities picketed SAG offices.

For board member J.D. Hall, the incident was proof that SAG still ignores rank-and-file voices, that it depends on a star system for its leadership, and that it pays more attention to protecting the few than to creating opportunity for the many. "We've negotiated excellent wages and working conditions—for a few people," Hall says.

Unlike AWAGers, he supports the notion of merger, and he perceives SAG as part of the labor movement. But he also proposes specific measures such as protective legislation to keep film work inside the country and to require work permits for foreign actors, as well as numerical goals for minority hiring.

Hall is bitter about the limits to change under the liberals. "My goal is to institute direct democracy, as much as possible," he says. He suggests monthly meetings of officers with the membership, with their recommendations formally entered into the president's report. This is a man who has had it with boardroom politicking.

Asner's frustrations.

Someone else frustrated with the limits of change is Ed Asner. He is a man of conviction far more than of politics—those close to him find it impossible to imagine him the opportunistic office-seeker that his enemies charge, simply because he can't resist testifying his beliefs. That attitude is reflected in his impatience with his own presidency in the wake of the conservative assault. AWAG's attacks helped him to clarify his own thoughts, he says; but they muddled the institutional waters. "I think we could have gone much farther than we did in demonstrating to the world what we believed in. The cautionary note slipped in and there was no fighting it. The general tenor was, 'Let's not make it easy for them [AWAG] again.'"

Like Hall, Asner feels affirmative action is a fundamental issue. But he also thinks SAG is too weak these days to win the demands the minorities committee set. He can point to a host of ways SAG's goals are far higher than its ability to meet them, thanks to its small size and low budget. He has never been happy with the terms of the 1980 contract, for instance. And he points out that SAG is so understaffed that it can't even get residuals payments of its members out to them on time during peak rerun season. Only a stronger union could take on tougher challenges, and so he's in search of tools to strengthen it.

SAG is now performing an internal balancing act, its core leadership challenged by two dissident groups. It's not surprising to find emotions running high in an election, much less an election among film actors. But real issues are at stake. As Fellner puts it, "In economically difficult times you see the ways that people relate their livelihood to their ideals. They are pushed and tested. Some people's fears are exacerbated; people who have a hard time making a living when times are good have an even harder time now. People are forced to test their beliefs." ■

LOVE ROCK & ROLL? GET SERIOUS!

W Dave Marsh...a founding father of Creem, associate editor of *Rolling Stone*...has spent fifteen years zealously defending and censoring rock & roll. Taking the fan's part, championing rock's working-class heroes, he has, perhaps more than any other critic, promoted the idea that at its finest, rock & roll is the public voice of the have-nots....Now he is at his best with *ROCK & ROLL CONFIDENTIAL*, an 8-page monthly newsletter....*ROCK & ROLL CONFIDENTIAL* crusades against the corporate and reactionary forces eating away at rock. Treating rock fans as a powerful constituency, written with Marsh's usual flair for the inflammatory, crammed with juicy statements and statistics, RRC makes the most convincing case yet for rock as a potent political educator....RRC accepts no advertising and has no pictures...It can't be mistaken for an entertainment mag, though it's far more entertaining--and hip and funny--than *Rolling Stone*. //

--Joyce Millman, *Boston Phoenix*,
July 26, 1983

Marsh doesn't do it alone. RRC's associate editor is Lee Ballinger, frequent contributor to ITT and the author of *In Your Face: Sports for Love and Money*. Contributors have included Greil Marcus, Ed Ward, and other readers. Hard-hitting and funny, RRC is the voice of James Watts's *Undesirable Element*. If the music still matters to you but you've been wondering where to plug in, search no more.

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PERSPECTIVES

Peruvian Maoists battle Belaunde

By Mitch Pacelle

IN THE BARREN ANDEAN highlands of southern Peru, some 20,000 impoverished Iquachino Indians are caught in the middle of a bloody struggle. Peru's Civil Guard is battling the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), a Maoist guerrilla group that has waged a three-year campaign of bombings and killings aimed at toppling the conservative elected government of President Fernando Belaunde Terry. Government officials have convinced many Iquachino villagers to raise their crude arms—often slingshots and axes—against the guerrillas, and civil authority has disintegrated. The result is an atmosphere of frontier-style lawlessness. In the past 10 months, hundreds have been killed by Senderistas, government forces and community defense groups.

The Iquachinos live in Ayacucho, a mountainous state 350 miles southeast of Lima. It has the highest unemployment, illiteracy and infant mortality rates in the country. It is also the stronghold of the Sendero Luminoso, whose bombings and assassinations have driven government authorities from many farming communities nestled in the valleys.

Special Civil Guard counterinsurgency forces, called *sinchis*, patrol the region, mold alliances with villages that have re-

In return, the government has launched a campaign of terror in the countryside.

sisted guerrilla control and capture and execute guerrilla suspects. An Amnesty International letter to President Belaunde recently made public assailed the government for numerous "extrajudicial executions." The government has denied the charges.

According to the report, in nighttime raids, security officers, hooded and bearing submachine guns, snatch suspects from their homes. Many subsequently turn up in "Los Cabitos," an Ayacucho army barracks where prisoners are beaten and tortured. Others are executed.

Government detentions and killings have sparked brutal guerrilla reprisals. In an April 3 raid on the remote village of Lucanamarca, guerrillas captured scores of villagers, subjected them to mock trials and executed 67, including 20 minors. The charge was cooperation with security forces.

Rapid government reprisals also often demonstrate blatant disregard for the judicial process. Security forces struck back in Lucanamarca executing 69 "suspected guerrillas." The government divulged neither the circumstances behind the killings nor the names of victims. No prisoners were reported taken.

To counter Sendero Luminoso control of many valley communities, the Civil Guard forged alliances with Iquachino villages of the *puna*—the highlands more than 12,000 feet. Government regional political/military commanders have organized community patrols to fight, and

charged them with "defending" themselves from guerrilla attacks. Officials reportedly compensate participants with food and dry goods.

What remains unclear is exactly what officials authorized villagers to do. The Amnesty International quotes a witness who heard troops instruct one community to kill all strangers, and to "do so with great cruelty, to torture them and mutilate them."

In January, the government spread news of the Iquachino execution of seven guerrillas. Pleased government officials heralded the event as evidence that the guerrillas had scant peasant support.

When eight Peruvian journalists ven-



tured on foot to the remote mountain village of Uchuraccay to investigate, villagers executed them with rocks and hatchets. A subsequent government investigation absolved the Civil Guard of direct responsibility for the killings, but Amnesty International attributed the deaths to a regional policy that encouraged villagers to execute their prisoners.

The revolutionaries.

The Sendero Luminoso has emerged in a volatile political climate. Most Peruvians had never heard of the organization before 1980, when 12 years of military rule ended with the election of Belaunde. Peru's leftist parties had reason to be disappointed with the election. Belaunde had been ousted from the presidency once before. In the late '60s, disenchanted by Belaunde's excessive concessions to foreign oil companies, nationalistic army officers seized power and announced sweeping reforms. But corruption and economic collapse toppled the military government and led to Belaunde's second election. After pledging democratic reform, the new president promptly repealed popular land reform policies and took conservative monetarist economic measures.

Government faith in trickle-down economics has not consoled the poor. Nearly half the population is either marginally employed or not working at all. This year natural catastrophes—severe flooding in the north, a drought in the south and a disastrous fish harvest—have compounded the high inflation rate. Disaffection among the nation's 12 million Indians is growing.

The Sendero Luminoso, which boasts a fighting force of 1,000, claims to be fighting for the country's 15 million rural poor of mixed and Indian blood. Sender-

istas insist that they are the true Peruvian Communist Party and call their organization a "new type of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party."

Little is known of their plans. Information culled from propaganda suggests they are attempting to sever economic ties between the rural villages and cities and eventually, through a prolonged military campaign backed by peasants, to surround and assault the cities. The Senderistas' stated goal, after overthrowing Belaunde and his Accion Popular Party, is to install a government of workers and peasants.

The Sendero Luminoso campaign has been marked by a string of some 5,000 street bombings, acts of sabotage, public beatings and executions. Last December Belaunde ordered martial law in five Ayacucho provinces. By May, more than 200 civilians and 100 soldiers and police were dead, including 50 Accion Popular Party officials.

On May 27, guerrillas startled the government with a nighttime attack on Lima. Saboteurs blacked out the city, detonated

tailed civil rights, prohibited public gatherings and allowed police to hold suspects without charges for 10 days. In several days police rounded up 500 for questioning.

The Sendero Luminoso's violent tactics have alienated most of the general population, including many leftists. Wrote one socialist journalist, "It is a supposed revolution without revolutionary objectives." The guerrillas have not helped their cause by steadfastly refusing contact with the press, which it labels an instrument of the bourgeoisie.

Former university professor Abimael Guzman founded the Sendero Luminoso in the early '70s and lectured his followers about the parallels between modern Peru and China in the '30s. Guzman dropped from sight in 1978, two years before the violent campaign began. Virtually nothing is known of his whereabouts, although he is said to lead the guerrillas.

The government has done nothing to dispel the mystery. Government reports of skirmishes between the Civil Guard and guerrillas never identify insurgent casualties, nor the make of captured weapons. Prisoners are jailed secretly.

President Belaunde has insisted that the guerrillas are financed by foreign sources, which raise the money through crime and drug trafficking. Although other government officials dispute these claims, Belaunde refuses to supply evidence.

Belaunde's conviction that the guerrillas should receive no publicity led him to ask media officials to restrain from covering Senderista actions. Said the president, "It is collected by foreign news agencies that at times do real damage to Peru."

Whether or not guerrilla actions are publicized, the Sendero Luminoso has become a vexing problem for the Belaunde administration. Widespread sabotage has drained scarce public resources, tourism has diminished and commerce in the mountains has been interrupted. The most damaging blow could be that many investors now consider Peru a risk not worth taking.

Belaunde's apparent inability to control subversion has greatly damaged his popularity. But the president can ill afford to unleash the military against the guerrillas. History has shown the military difficult to control, and the stability of the Belaunde government depends on control of the armed forces.

Mitch Pacelle is a freelance journalist who recently returned from a lengthy stay in Central America.

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March

- 15**
1971—William Rehnquist on surveillance: "I do not believe it violates the particular constitutional rights of those who are surveyed."
1972—A disguised Howard Hunt visits Dita Beard to discuss the authenticity of her memo. (see March 18)
1975—Elsa Gutierrez admits being an IRS spy in Operation Leprechaun and reveals she turned in her father. (see March 25)
1982—Pres. Reagan says journalists should "trust us and put themselves in our hands."

INPRINT

PSYCHOLOGY

Fate of the Freudian left wing



The History of Shock Treatment

The Repression of Psychoanalysis: Otto Fenichel and the Political Freudians
By Russell Jacoby
Basic Books, 201 pp., \$16.95

By Alfie Kohn

Of the following early psychoanalysts, pick out the ones who identified themselves as socialists or Marxists: Wilhelm Reich, Helen Deutsch, Otto Fenichel, Bruno Bettelheim, Martin Grotjahn, Edith Jacobson, Ernst Simmel and Paul Federn. According to Russell Jacoby, all of them. This will come as a surprise to many familiar with their psychoanalytic writings, which is precisely Jacoby's point—and the cause of his lament—in *The Repression of Psychoanalysis*.

Sometime between the first glimpse of Nazism in central Europe and the resettling of this second generation of psychoanalysts in the U.S., all the critical power evaporated from Freud's vision and all the leftist tendencies of his followers were repressed, Jacoby argues. Unhappy with the narrow conservatism of American psychoanalysis and the "tepid doctrine" of well-meaning reformism offered by such revisionists as Erich Fromm and Karen Horney, these political Freudians apparently became apolitical. Psychoanalysis itself lost some of its theoretical vigor, and we lost track of the political dimension that once defined many of its adherents.

Otto Fenichel, now known mainly for his *Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*, sent out letters ("Rundbriefe") to some of his colleagues from the mid-'30s until the mid-'40s. They covered a range of issues and comprise the heart of Jacoby's book. Fascinated by the secrecy in which these documents were shrouded, Jacoby quotes at length from them in an attempt to show that Fenichel, Jacobson and others carried on a kind of underground dissident strain in American psychology.

But, according to Jacoby, a vibrant political view of psychoanalysis was undermined by the threat of Nazism; the "professionalization and medicalization" of American psychoana-

lysis; "the insecurity of immigrant analysts; hostility toward Marxism [in the U.S.]; and the impact of the neo-Freudians."

He adds, "Together these factors almost conspired to domesti-

cate psychoanalysis, subduing its broader and also critical implications."

As a Marxist—and simply as a good scholar, for that matter—Jacoby deplores the way psychoanalysis has become "insular, medical and clinical"—a technique for treating the well-to-do rather than a "general theory of civilization" oriented to reform (which is what he asserts it was originally). On the other hand, Jacoby has nothing but contempt for the neo-Freudians, as is clear from his earlier book, *Social Amnesia*.

The central weakness of *The Repression of Psychoanalysis: Otto Fenichel and the Political Freudians* is the gap between its title and its subtitle: from some stories about a group of political Freudians we are supposed to infer the repression of psychoanalysis itself. This is never con-

vincingly demonstrated.

It is not especially interesting that Otto Fenichel and some of his colleagues were leftists in their younger days and then drifted away from politics. It would be interesting if "the fate of the political Freudians testifies to the general fate of psychoanalysis," as Jacoby insists it does—that is, if psychoanalysis used to be a politically radical doctrine and is no longer. But Jacoby never substantiates that claim.

As Jacoby himself suggests, Freud (particularly in his later years) argued that "a natural aggression and evil renders man immune to cultural transformations." Freud also was instrumental in getting the radical Wilhelm Reich thrown out of the International Psychoanalytic Society. But Jacoby also points to a paper of Freud's that spoke of the need to extend psychoanaly-



Jean-Claude Suarès

FOREIGN POLICY

Two cheers for Reagan from old establishment

America and the World, 1982: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 61, No. 3
Council on Foreign Relations

By Carolyn Eisenberg

The Reagan administration inspires nostalgia for the old foreign policy establishment. With stewardship of the American empire in the hands of reckless novices from the Sunbelt, the Eastern elite has never seemed more benign.

In retrospect, the old crowd had its virtues. Members of that ruling strata read books, consulted maps, considered the probable responses of other nations, calibrated risks and possibilities. At the very minimum, the sober bankers and attorneys from Wall Street appeared to recognize that a world in ashes would yield no dividends.

After two years of the Reagan

administration, what does the Eastern establishment now have to say? A good place to find out is *America and the World, 1982*, a compendium of essays published by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). For the past five years the Council has compiled a survey of American policy in various regions of the world. Edited by William Bundy, the essays are assigned to mainstream professors, journalists and policymakers from the U.S. and western Europe. Taken together, they provide a useful indication of the way the traditional elite and their recognized specialists are thinking about government policy.

The 1981 edition of *The United States and the World* reserved judgment on the Reagan administration. Many of the experts found the new leadership to be "less extreme" than had been anticipated, but argued that it was

too early to make a definitive judgment.

Now, past midterm, the Reagan foreign policy seems clearly etched. With more information at their disposal, it is significant that establishment analysts are disgruntled but not disaffected. The predominant mood of the essays is grumpy acquiescence.

Complaints abound. Like its predecessor, the Reagan administration appears torn by factional dispute. The fratricidal struggle between Secretary of State Haig and Secretary of Defense Weinberger was "a genuine tragedy" that "succeeded only in alienating opinion in Europe and the U.S. from the aims of both," according to Andrew Knight of the *London Economist*.

The administration is charged with manifold errors in the execution of policy. In the area of defense, the Reaganites managed

tic therapy to poor people. What he fails to note is the fact that only two pages of the paper in question are devoted to this idea and that Freud's tone in it is more ruminative than exhortatory.

If Freud himself was not political in orientation, what about Fenichel's later writings? Is there a socialist subtext in his discussions of feces and phalluses? Jacoby sadly admits that Fenichel abandoned his politics, but curiously closes the book with the conjecture that "if he had lived longer he might have galvanized the oppositional analysts."

Medicalization.

If Jacoby's contention that psychoanalysis' political power has been repressed are doubtful, he is on much safer ground with his excoriation of the field's "medicalization." Against Freud's explicit wishes, American doctors succeeded in making psychoanalysis a virtual colony of the medical establishment and barring anyone without an M.D. from practicing. (Among those without one were Anna Freud and Erik Erikson.) He is also correct in asserting that contemporary psychoanalysis has become professionalized, specialized, dominated by men and intolerant of dissent.

Jacoby's earlier work, *Social Amnesia*, is a furious polemic against neo-Freudianism and humanistic psychology. Whether or not one concludes that he proves his argument that these theorists have offered us nothing more than "vague idealism and flat sociology," the book is something to be grappled with. His writing is lively and informed by impressive scholarly breadth. He is also unafraid to harpoon sacred cows, as some of his essays on Marxism make clear. Although these same features appear in *The Repression of Psychoanalysis*, he never really interests us in a detailed account of the lives of Fenichel and the others. It would have worked better as a chapter appended to *Social Amnesia*. ■

Alfie Kohn's essay on psychoanalysis and Bruno Bettelheim appeared in the summer issue of the *Georgia Review*.

to "dissipate" the national consensus for a military buildup and "to fuel an opposition movement that grew into a major nuisance in 1982," writes Stephen S. Rosenfeld of the *Washington Post*. The president needlessly inflamed public opinion by his intimations that the U.S. might, under certain circumstances, initiate a "limited nuclear war." And his obvious disdain for arms control undermined the government's ability to project a pacific purpose for military spending.

In dealing with Europe, the administration gets poor marks for foolishly antagonizing unsympathetic nations by threatening sanctions on the pipeline when the project was too far advanced to be rescinded.

The U.S. government was equally profligate in squandering Chinese friendship. By cultivating its connections with Taiwan, the administration arrested the trend toward normalization with China. With "the temperature of overall relations...at most lukewarm," notes Robert Keatley of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, Soviet Premier Andropov found the opportunity to make overtures to the People's Republic.

There were, in addition, numerous fumbles in the Third World. Most critical was the sit-

uation in Central America. By treating all events there within the prism of superpower competition and insisting on an American-imposed military solution, the White House widened the conflict. The *New York Times*' Alan Riding points out that by its disregard of "the economic, political and historical dynamics of the region" and its neglect of the constructive role that interested neighbors could play in bringing about a political settlement, the White House was producing "a vacuum of clear leadership that could be filled by unpleasant surprises."

The same mistake characterized the administration's dealings with Latin America as a whole, according to the CFR. Obsessed with the Soviet threat to the hemisphere, it paid too little attention to indigenous economic and political problems. The perils of this course were driven home by the crisis in the Falklands. "U.S. attempts to enlist the Argentine military in an anti-Communist alliance gave the generals an exaggerated sense of their importance...that caused them to make several costly miscalculations," reports CFR's Susan Purcell. Alexander Haig's maladroitness worsened matters. However, the real culprits were Jeane Kirkpatrick and her White House backers, whose zealotry introduced a dangerous distortion in U.S.-Latin relations.

There were no comparable botches in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the U.S. government, according to former Undersecretary of State Joseph Sisco, "has not been as clear and precise as it needed to be...in indicating to Israel the areas of agreement and disagreement between the two countries." This carelessness encouraged the Israelis to go further in ravaging Lebanon than was desirable and to stonewall negotiations over the West Bank.

In Africa, "constructive engagement has boomeranged. South Africa's destabilization tactics directed against other states...seemed to increase rather than decrease under a more benign American policy," writes John de St. Jorre, African director of International Reporting Information Systems. Moreover, the administration's insistence on a formal linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the removal of the South Africans from Namibia has introduced new impediments to the peace process.

Looking on the bright side.

Despite this considerable list of screw-ups, the CFR's verdict on Reagan is not unfavorable. Few of the writers take exception to the substance of the president's policies. Outside of Central America and Africa, where the administration is thought to be courting trouble, its programs are portrayed as reasonable.

The failures are thought of as mainly ones of style and emphasis. Yet even here the administration is thought to be improving. A major theme is the willingness of the Reagan team to adjust its ideological commitments to the realities of international life. In this regard, there is high praise for the appointment of George Shultz as Secretary of State. Whether Shultz will ultimately temper "the instinctive confrontational thrust" of the president is uncertain, according to this volume.

On the positive side of the ledger, Reagan scores points with the old foreign policy establish-

These essays are antidotes to excessive sentimentality about the "establishment expertise." It's no surprise that the Council on Foreign Relations is still loyal to an imperial vision.

tions with the Western Allies seem to have warmed recently. The prudent Shultz is credited with undoing much of the worst damage caused by U.S. rigidity over the pipeline. And the "general swing to the right" in Western Europe suggests "that the continental drift between Europe and the U.S. might have exhausted itself in 1982," according to Joseph Joffe of the German newspaper *Die Zeit*.

In Latin America, the administration adjusted its approach in the wake of the Falklands war. The "fall-out" from this debacle in conjunction with the emerging financial crisis forced the administration to reassess priorities. "Security concerns, formerly paramount," have "taken second place to economic ones," points out CFR's Purcell. An important expression of this was the administration's decision to provide additional support for the International Monetary Fund.

Undoubtedly the brightest spot for U.S. diplomacy was in the Middle East. While aspects of the Israeli incursion into Lebanon were distressing, the U.S. re-

more "accommodationist" foreign policy during the '70s, by the end of the decade they had adopted a harder line.

At the center of this shift was a deepening disappointment with detente. As devised by Henry Kissinger and his associates, detente was actually a plan to drive a wedge between the USSR and the insurgencies of the Third World. By offering "carrots" to the Russians (SALT agreements, trade concessions, improved atmospherics), it was hoped that the Soviets could be made to follow their more conservative tendencies and curtail their support for revolutionary movements. With the Soviets out of the picture, it was thought that the U.S. could then entrust the "policing" function to regional allies. This would be an inexpensive, non-controversial way of avoiding future Vietnams, while preserving the international status quo.

However ingenious, the project failed. Never falling into place, the Soviets continued their erratic assistance to revolutionary groups. Moreover, indigenous movements proved more for-

dering the USSR.

As it grew evident that detente was failing to halt the decline of American power, the pendulum began swinging the other way. Within the Eastern establishment there was intensifying anxiety that in pursuit of Soviet cooperation—however illusory—the U.S. had permitted the Soviet Union to come too close in military strength. The conviction grew that there was no realistic diplomatic substitute for beefing up the American military.

There were prominent hold-outs among the old guard. Secretary of State Vance sought to stem the militaristic tide. Paul Warnke and numerous arms control experts, immersed in the doomsday technology, stressed the urgency of arms agreements. Some chastened perpetrators of the Vietnam War—McGeorge Bundy and Robert McNamara among them—stayed committed to a less belligerent course.

Others were ambivalent. Doubtful that the U.S. could ever regain the meaningful strategic advantage that it held during the '50s and '60s, those following Kissinger argued that the U.S. should toughen up, rebuild its arsenal and then try detente again (this time with more "sticks").

But the hawkish climate enabled Reagan to wage an effective political campaign. Since neither the Carter camp nor the mass media seemed to have an alternative perspective on foreign affairs, Reagan held the monopoly on coherence. Since much of the foreign policy establishment supported a more assertive international posture, it offered no serious challenge to his candidacy.

Many from the CFR circle entered his administration. George Bush, George Shultz, Caspar Weinberger, William Casey, Laurence Eagleburger, Walter Stoessel, along with many second and third level officials.

This is not to say that there are no differences of outlook. There are hard-core ideologues in the Reagan ranks whose ignorance of foreign affairs and bone-headed belligerence scares even the most "hard-line" conservative.

Still, there is no denying the fact that the establishment has made an opportunistic bargain with the right. Devoid of ideas and demoralized by the failure of Kissinger diplomacy, it has signed on with the Sunbelt ideologues. So long as the president's luck holds and he doesn't lose any important countries (the way Carter did), they are willing to go along with his "machismo" and see what it yields them.

Should the president stumble, this would change. Despite its reputation for steadiness, the traditional elite is fickle. It is less committed to a particular foreign policy strategy than to maximizing short-term gains and minimizing losses. By this outlook, Reagan's foreign policy has been relatively successful. If major difficulties develop—in Western Europe or perhaps in the Middle East—the establishment experts will desert in droves, claiming all the while that they had warned of such things. Of course, should the Reaganites accidentally precipitate a nuclear war, there will be less opportunity for comment.

The old crowd—though diminished in influence—is still with us. This is less reassuring than might be imagined.

Carolyn Eisenberg is a research associate at Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations at SUNY-Binghamton.



INX 5, 1982 Randy Jones

The East Coast foreign policy establishment pins high hopes on one of their own: George Shultz.

midable than expected. First in Angola, and subsequently in Nicaragua and Iran, the U.S. suffered important "losses."

The Iranian collapse was of particular concern to the old foreign policy establishment. What it illustrated was that even when the Soviet Union did nothing, it posed a dangerous challenge. While the Russians played no role in promoting the Iranian insurrection, they prevented effective American intervention once the revolt had occurred. Under conditions of approximate nuclear parity, the American government was not free to launch a major operation in a nation bor-

ment for bolstering American defenses. Despite the peace movement, the president has won a string of victories in Congress on his military budget. While, in the words of *Le Monde*'s Michale Tatu, "no one will know whether the Kremlin's moderation on the Lebanese war, its relative inactivity through 1982 in Africa, the Middle East and even Central America, was due to the 'macho' stance of the White House, Ronald Reagan has not been confronted with the kind of serious East-West challenges and crises faced by his predecessors." Moreover, Reagan has now toned down his careless rhetoric and has made skillful use of the START proposals as a counterweight to Soviet propaganda.

Significantly, American rela-

sponse enhanced our ability to dominate the negotiations and to maintain a leading role in the area.

Reading these essays is a useful antidote to excessive sentimentality heard recently about "establishment expertise" in foreign affairs. It is no surprise to find the Council of Foreign Relations still loyal to an imperial vision. More unexpected is the complacency of so many of its authorities about a right-wing, belligerent, adventurist foreign policy.

How is this to be explained? The key lies in the re-orientation that occurred within the Eastern establishment prior to Ronald Reagan's accession to the presidency. Although they provided much of the initial push for a

ART«»ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Views from England in black and white

By Neal Ullestad

Those of us who grew up listening to the radio in the '60s remember the Beatles and Smokey Robinson, Aretha Franklin and the Rolling Stones, all side by side on the airwaves. Kids in the suburbs and inner city all danced to the same sounds. Today—despite a broadcasting industry addicted to pigeon-holing music and audiences by race, age and income—some of that old multi-racial magic is back on the radio.

Eddie Grant and Musical Youth have brought a hearty, danceable reggae with an awareness of the current economic hardships to both white and black audiences. And such eclectic, "now" pop stars as Culture Club and Men at Work have made it to the top of the charts by combining black musical styles with a clear eye for white pop sensibilities.

Rock music has always grown by incorporating new sounds, from jazz and folk on up to today's fashionable extracts from western Africa. The best of the rock-fusion bands—the Talking Heads with funk and the Police with reggae—have influenced other bands in the pop-rock mainstream and have helped integrate black and white styles, if not black and white audiences.

Yet most of the newest artists to receive media attention are "aliens" to our shores—from Australia, Jamaica or Britain. There appears to be a near total banishment of American black music from rock radio.

British invasion.

In Britain, however, there is a much deeper tradition of interracial cooperation within the mainstream of popular music itself. The British charts and audiences have been more accepting, not only of the United Kingdom's own black musicians and styles, but have also given substantial support to American black music. One of the more self-conscious cross-fertilizations of cultural currents emerged in the late '70s with the "ska" (an amalgam of new wave and reggae) revival and the "two-tone" movement (bi-racial bands that stressed the point by displaying black and white checkered fashions) that paralleled the fracturing of the punk scene. The song lyrics of these bands often emphasized black and white unity, as well as the healing power of music and dancing over the destructiveness of fighting.

Two relatively young bands from Birmingham, England, who have carried on the tradition of the "two-tone" movement are UB40 and the English Beat. Both bands produce compositions

with political implications (at times more subtle than others), and mix styles in ways that are quite unique and infectiously danceable. The Beat (in the U.S. "English" was added to their name to avoid legal complications) have been rewarded for their subtler approach with regular radio airplay following their performance at this year's US Festival. UB40, popular in Brit-

UB40: Two-tone reggae



ain since 1979, officially reached our shores only this year with A&M's release of *UB40: 1980-1983*, though the band has exhibited deep interest in American music and politics since their beginnings.

And while these bands have roots in the "two-tone" movement, musically both UB40 and the Beat go far beyond the limits of the "ska" revival of the Specials, Madness and Selector. Both incorporate elements of soul, funk and reggae into their music and they even leave behind some of the male posturing of most of the "ska" revival bands.

Special Beat Service (I.R.S./A&M)—the English Beat's most recent release, is just as lively as their previous work. As lyricists, the Beat self-consciously play with words the way Elvis Costello and Men at Work twist phrases and clichés to squeeze new or ambiguous meanings from them. (The title is a play on the name of the British naval commandos who fought in the Falklands war,

the Special Boat Service.) But these melodic songsters are the most fun when they are twisting typical love themes into sharp commentary on the limits we set in our relations as men and women. Though the future of the Beat is now uncertain, with two key members reportedly leaving the band, the musical impulse that they brought continues.

Reggae is the key.

But where the Beat emphasize the brassy sound of Motown, UB40 affirm that reggae music is "the key" to their hearts. Their new album *UB40: 1980-1983* (A&M/Virgin) is a compilation of various of the band's hits since their first album, *Signing Off*. UB40's first British hit in 1979

The only black music on U.S. rock radio is from abroad.

entitled "King" is a thoughtful reflection on the dreams and assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. It features a lovely vocal reminiscent of Stevie Wonder, a lilting reggae rhythm and beat stylized with modern technology and mournful saxophones. And there were certainly few who bought the record in Britain who did not know that the characters "UB40" are the form number on a British unemployment benefits application card.

Interestingly enough, while their music has become more stylized, incorporating funkier bass lines and more technological embellishment, UB40 has become more outspoken and articulate in their political statements. In addition to "King" from *Signing Off*, their latest album includes "Present Arms," which incorporate a marching beat to deepen the critique of British imperialism: "You've got no job and no pay?/ Join the military side today/ [They'll] pay you to protect what isn't yours/ and teach you to ignore the screams and tears." "One in Ten" targets insensitive government bureaucracies that ignore the human suffering that accompanies unemployment.

Such powerful political statements are ironically packaged in an extremely dreamy brand of reggae. The contrast of these soothing sounds and scathing social commentary have a basis in the tensions and search for relaxation and happiness in everyday life. "So Here I Am" speaks eloquently of alienation from work, while in "I Won't Close My Eyes" the lyrics promise that the madness of the world will not go undocumented or unchallenged.

These bands celebrate the power of the music itself to allay some of the suffering around. For UB40 and the Beat, the music is much of the message—the unity of blacks and whites, not only as individuals or as band members, but as the interaction of musical cultures and political concerns as well.

FILM CLIPS

Poletown Lives!

A documentary chronicling an urban community's unsuccessful fight against corporate power, *Poletown Lives!* is a made-in-Detroit look at the greedy land-grabbing that is possible when the government joins with the automobile industry in an urban "reindustrialization" project.

Independent filmmakers George Corsetti and Jeannie Wylie made this movie, their first, on sheer determination. Active in the struggle to save Poletown, an aging but solid and ethnically mixed neighborhood in Detroit's inner city, they bring a fine sense of humanity to their story. The radicalization of old Catholic ladies in babushkas, as their homes and churches are bulldozed at the behest of General Motors, is a picture worth reams of rhetoric.

Today, a new robotized assembly line has risen from the ashes of Poletown, but through

Poletown Lives!

other communities across the country can get a textbook lesson in organizing against the abuse of government bodies allied with corporate powers. (*Information Factory, 3512 Courville, Detroit, MI 48224, (313) 885-4685.*) (MB)

U.S. vs. USSR: Who's Ahead?

This is a well-organized, thought-provoking half-hour documentary narrated by Martin Sheen and produced by the Fund for Peace in cooperation with the Center for Defense Information. The film contrasts the public statements of Reagan on the Soviet military threat with dissenting testimony from a battery of experts, including Herbert Scoville, Gene LaRocque and William Colby. Made as a teaching tool, the documentary poses four questions: Is the USSR military superior to that of the U.S.? Are Soviet allies militarily stronger than

ours? Can the USSR intervene internationally more easily than we? Is military might the best strategy for national security? The correct answer to all four questions, according to these experts, is "no." Most of the experts agree that this administration is trying to scare the public into approving massive new defense allocations. Punchy graphs and ominous footage of weaponry alternate with talking-heads interviews. (*Ideal Communications, P.O. Box 76600, Washington, DC 20013.*) (PA)

The Great Spirit Within the Hole

In this documentary, American Indian director Chris Spotted Eagle journeys to 10 Western U.S. prisons to interview Indian prisoners about the reasons for their jailing and the role of Indian religion in their lives.

As the Indian inmates, both men and women, tell their life stories, a pattern slowly emerges like a persistent drum beat: poverty, government-imposed relocation, racial prejudice, a growing bitterness fueled by alcohol and drug abuse, all of which finally ends in crime and prison.

The Great Spirit contrasts the harshness of the inmates' concrete and steel environment with scenes of these same inmates building ceremonial lodges in green areas of the prison yard. Inside the lodge, participants sit around heated stones over which water and sage are poured to produce a cleansing steam called "Grandfather's Breath." Then the tobacco pipe is passed and prayers are offered. The participants testify to reduced hostility and renewed belief in themselves and their fellow human beings as a result of their return to the traditional Indian ways. Yet despite the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, Indian religion is often suppressed and its practitioners harassed by prison officials.

The Great Spirit Within the Hole is narrated by Indian actor Will Sampson and features original music by Buffy Sainte-Marie. It will be shown on PBS this fall. (*Spotted Eagle Productions, 2524 Hennepin Ave. South, Minneapolis, MN 55405.*) (SC)

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Michael Betzold, Steven Comp-ton

By David D'Arcy

NEW YORK

It's three o'clock on a hot Indian summer afternoon in midtown Manhattan and the shadows of the skyscrapers are just now encroaching on the vast parking lot at 9th Avenue and 49th Street. About two dozen young and middle-aged men who appear to be from India are busy choosing teams for a game. One expects them to produce a baseball bat or basketball at any moment, or to improvise soccer goals at either end of the lot. But when the teams finally do take shape, 10 men fan out to form a

brought the game to the West Indies in the 1800s. "The English no doubt thought of themselves as gentlemen playing a gentleman's game, but in order to form two sides of 11 men each they had no choice but to drag us locals onto the field and teach us how to play." Now cricket rivals soccer as the leading sport of the islands.

By late morning on any weekend of the cricket season, cricketers can be found in the parks of Brooklyn, home to many West Indians, or Queens—the site of a large Indian community. In the Bronx, more than a few rugby players are unhappy about their displacement by the hordes of

afford the products of the Lauren fashion line. Yet even these players are willing to admit that the Lauren ads did give the game some valuable publicity.

The rules of the game.

Explaining cricket rules to Americans is something akin to discussing the fine points of the infield fly rule with Europeans. With this spirit of futility in mind, the Marylebone Club of England offers an abbreviated introduction for foreigners: "You have two sides, one out in the field and one in. Each man that's in the side that's in goes out and when he's out he comes in and the next man goes in until

Pitches usually reach the batsman on a bounce, so hitting the ball requires perfect ground conditions and a tennis player's timing. All but the wicketkeepers must field barehanded (try that with a baseball) and the umpire speaks *ex cathedra*, precluding the emergence of a cricket version of John McEnroe or Billy Martin.

Weekend players and their families also make up the audience for professional cricket in this country, brought to the U.S. almost singlehandedly by Bert Smith, an enthusiastic Barbadian who's quick to inform you that cricket is "a physical game of chess played by half the world."

have doubled the crowd size, however, by simply counting those who avoided the \$7 ticket by watching the game through the stadium fence.

The few advertisements in the game program testified to the sport's newness in this country. Along with ads for "spicy beef pies," an island specialty, a full-page announcement read: "Sachs and Spector, P.C., 'The Family Law Firm,' has served Caribbean families for the past 30 years. Our staff of 12 attorneys stands ready to assist you with visa applications, labor clearances...personal injury, immigration and deportation hearings. No appointment necessary."

Even with the sparse attendance, the match was a pleasant combination of warmth and urbanity. Local cops assigned to the stadium stood close to long tables of food, staring at the players on the field with incredulity, and steadfastly ignored flagrant violations of the stadium's ban on alcohol. A group of earnest Guyanese fans with whom I stood made sure I always had a beer for the duration of the match (five hours), punctuating their heartfelt lectures on the shortcomings of Cheddi Jagan, the Guyanese trade unionist, with shouts of "Good bat!" and lamentations on the poor fielding of the West Indian team, which was soundly defeated by the English.

And in the era of Phil Rizzuto and Brent Musburger, where else can one hear this style of sports announcing: "She is reacting with alarming alacrity to perform a very fine piece of fielding, followed, I regret, by a very unfortunate moment of indecision... and I must continue to comment on the lateral movement of the wicketkeeper, a movement that has been severely restricted by bad knees...nonetheless the ball carries through harmlessly to the wicketkeeper...the English women, in their skirts, may appear somewhat different when compared to our West Indian players in their white flannel trousers, yet I do think we can all agree that they are attractive, terribly attractive."

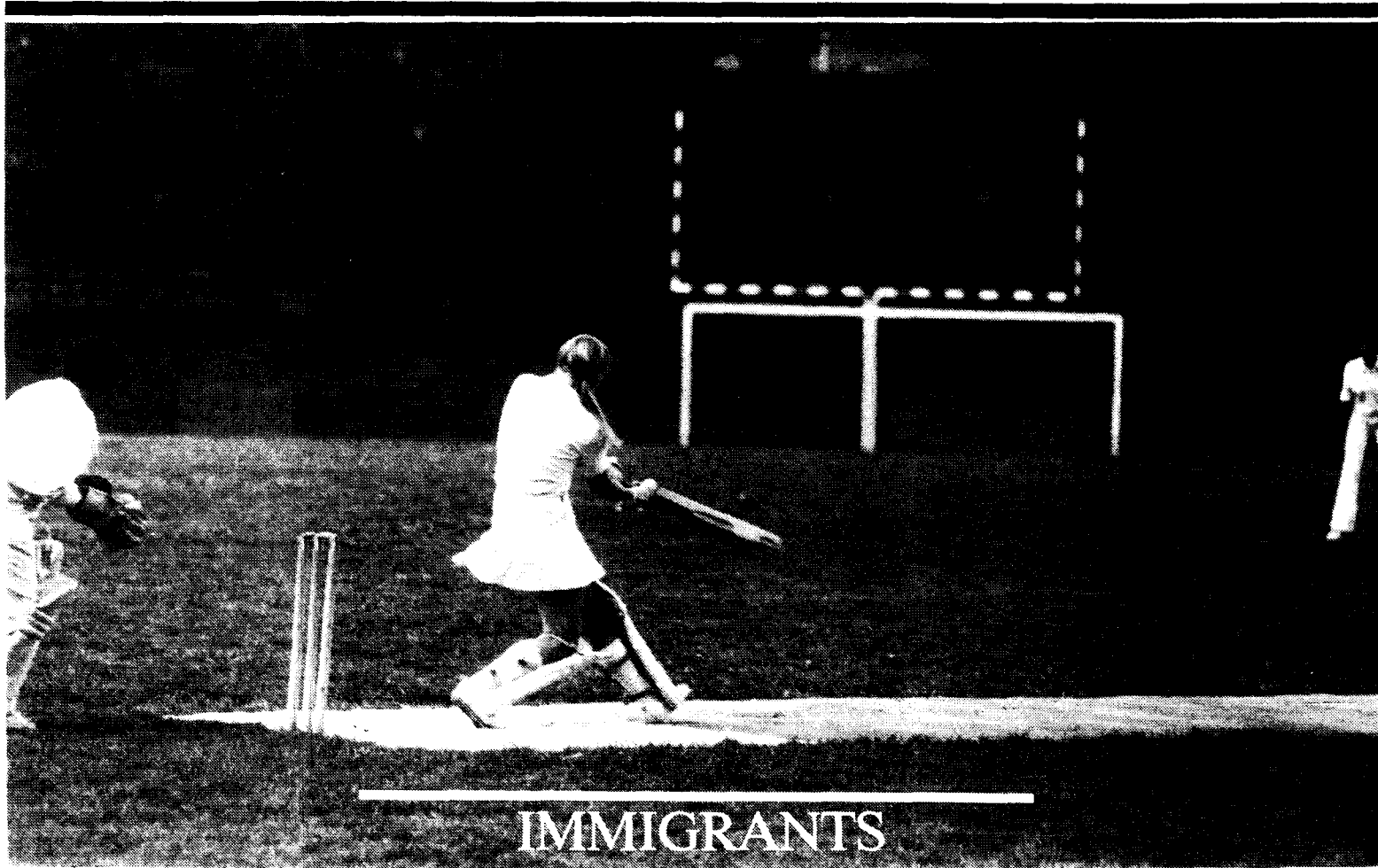
Play-by-play commentaries such as this enhance cricket's reputation as a gentleman's game, although that gentility was more than a bit tarnished when Dennis Lilly, an Australian who may be the world's finest bowler (pitcher), greeted Queen Elizabeth after hurling a victory, "Fucking great to meet you, Queen!"

Some in the U.S. still see cricket as an anachronistic folly of the British upper class; others dismiss it as "even more boring than baseball."

In any case, cricket has come to them. And if we are to believe Bert Smith, it's just a matter of time before the sport colonizes this land. "Reggae [music]—that's just a fad," says Smith. "But cricket's a lasting thing. It's here to stay."

David D'Arcy is a former senior editor of *Racquet Quarterly*.

»SPORTSCENE«



IMMIGRANTS

Paul Adao

The cricketing of America

huge crescent, and one of them stands about 30 feet from a flat shiny metal sheet, which is about three feet in height and propped up by a cardboard crate.

A player on the other team then stands in front of the crate with a long, flat wooden paddle and the opponent nearest him aims a small hard ball at the metal sheet with a high-speed pitch. These New Yorkers (recent arrivals from the former British colony of Guyana) have begun a half-field match of cricket—their answer to half-court basketball.

Cricketers have become an odd but regular fixture of the parks, fields and even the streets of New York in recent years. Most of the city's cricketers are from the less affluent nations once under British rule—the Caribbean countries of Trinidad, Grenada, Barbados, Jamaica and Guyana as well as Pakistan, India and Nigeria. The mere presence of cricket is a clear reflection of the city's changing population, which now counts more than 1.3 million persons from the British Caribbean and almost 200,000 immigrants from India and Pakistan.

Claude Tate, cricket correspondent for WLIB radio in New York and a native of Guyana, explains that the British intended cricket to remain a pastime reserved for Europeans when they

Cricketers have become an odd but regular fixture in the parks, the fields and even the streets of New York.

cricketers who now crowd the fields of Van Cortlandt Park in that once-Irish borough. More than 50 teams play in various cricket leagues in the city.

Wearing streetclothes, the Guyanese of 9th Avenue are atypical players—most cricketers still play in white flannel trousers, open white shirts, and white shoes. This august tradition was not lost on Ralph Lauren, the packager of classic styles (and snob appeal). Lauren's clothing line, "Polo" (the only sport that might lay claim to a more patrician lineage than cricket), latched on to the Anglophile coattails of *Brideshead Revisited* last spring and featured a troupe of WASPy male models in cricket garb in its ads, replete with hats, bats and leg-protectors.

It's ironic that many of those active in cricket in New York today are recent immigrants, sometimes illegal, often unskilled and semi-literate, employed at low-paying jobs—those least able to

he's out. When they are all out the side that's out comes in and the side that's been in goes out and tries to get those coming in out. Sometimes you get men still in and not out. When both sides have been in and out including the not-outs, that's the end of the game."

To further complicate things for Americans, it should be added that cricket has no foul lines, so a pitch tipped off the bat in any direction must be played.

Day of the cricket matches: pro cricket still draws sparse crowds.

A photographer by profession, Smith created a cricket program for West Indian children in New York and now devotes his time to the uphill struggle of turning cricket into a mass spectator sport in the U.S.

Although a match last month between the world champion India team and the West Indian All Stars packed thousands into Memorial Stadium in the New York suburb of Mt. Vernon, the audience for pro cricket in this country makes George McGovern's presidential campaign staff look large. At the same stadium, a pro women's match between the English and West Indian All Stars drew barely 100 spectators, most of them friends and relatives of the players. One could

Sylvia



by Nicole Hollander



Germany

Continued from page 9

Auschwitz were all able to happen because the anti-fascists, the Democrats, Social Democrats and Communists did not stand together." She pleaded for unity.

Retired U.S. Admiral Gene LaRoque told the Germans, "Your friends in the U.S. hope you will give peace a chance and reject Pershing II and Cruise missiles." He said they were first-strike weapons that would greatly increase the danger of nuclear war.

Boll stressed that "the best friends the German peace movement has are to be

found in the U.S. And some of the worst friends are to be found in Europe." In the second category, he cited French political leaders Mitterrand, Chirac and "secretly, no doubt" Communist leader George Marchais, whom he said all agreed that the battlefield for a hypothetical future nuclear war should be Germany.

The week of dispersed and varied actions leading up to the massive October 22 turnout showed that the peace movement has spread throughout West German society and is prepared to spread further. It has already gained the whole rank and file of the SPD and is starting to nibble at the Christian Democrats. A Catholic school principle who is organizing Christian Democrats against nuclear missiles was among the Bonn speakers.

Christian peace activities were particularly impressive. On Sunday, October 16, a special "peace prayer," with liturgy written collectively by half a dozen Catholic and Protestant groups, took place before the NATO headquarters in Heidelberg, the command center for American nuclear missiles in southern Germany. Excerpts from the ecumenical liturgy: "Lord, our land already has the greatest density of nuclear missiles in the world, and now more are coming. Pershing II prepares the possibility of a first strike against the Soviet Union. Blackmail and annihilation are their purpose. ...The planners coldly reckon in megadeaths.... Lord, why do the strategists not see Your image in all these millions.... Lord, for our supposed security and our abundance we have enslaved the people of the south. They cannot produce for their own needs but must bow to the will of the World Bank and other agents of our economic system.... Lord, peace and justice are not the standards of our order but profit and enrichment..." Hymn: "The Lord created the world for us, let

us take good care of it."

Two hundred people were expected, but 5,000 turned up. Meanwhile, another 20,000 were at services in the town of Julich and countless others all over the country.

A group of more than 150 monks and nuns from almost all the Catholic religious orders walked through the Rhineland demanding renunciation of the NATO modernization as a first step toward nuclear disarmament.

A group of Lutherans pinned on church doors a continuation of Martin Luther's famous 95 theses up to 100, with passages from the Bible and the 1983 Vancouver World Church Conference condemning nuclear armaments as a crime against humanity.

On Action Week's women's day, a group of women presented a Defense Ministry official with a gift of war toys, which they said were "cheaper and less dangerous" than real weapons.

Although the thousands of actions included blockades of missile sites and military bases, the German movement has deliberately chosen to vary its forms of action and avoid fixation on missile sites. The peace movement does not want to be drawn into confrontations with the military that it could only lose. Instead, it wants to stress politics, and focus on the "political warheads" in Bonn.

In November the Protestant churches will hold a special peace week of their own. The peace movement is planning protest actions for November 21, when the Bundestag will debate the Euromissile issue, and on December 12, fourth anniversary of the NATO decision. Actions are also already being planned for 1984.

Even before the October peace action week began, discussion was underway over what to do next. There is no lack of ideas or of determination. Now discussion will intensify on ways to radicalize the movement and by now it is clear that "radicalizing" does not mean "violence" but bringing in more and more people to more and more kinds of action, making it politically impossible to keep nuclear missiles on West German soil, even if they are deployed at the end of this year.

The October 22 mass demonstrations were by no means a last act, but rather the start of a campaign for some sort of referendum enabling the German population to express its wishes on the missile deployment question.

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CHICAGO, IL

November 5-6

Consumer Party of Illinois. Help build a national, independent people's third party. The Consumer Party is supporting the only independent black presidential candidate, Dennis Serrette, a leader in the trade union and black movement. Come to the Consumer Party Chicago convention, 10 a.m. at the Blackstone Hotel. For more info call 935-1033.

November 19

The West Side Organization is sponsoring a major fundraising event: "A Las Vegas Night." Cash door prize of \$200; live entertainment by "Prodigy"; buffet dinner; grand auction prize a 19" color television and a special event, X-Rated Comedy Team—Sonny & Pepper, at Sauers Restaurant, 311 E. 23rd St., 8:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. Donation: \$15 per person (tax deductible). The proceeds from this event will be used to support underfunded program services such as drug abuse, mental illness, alcohol abuse, adult day care, adult emergency housing and crime among the youth. For ticket information please contact Mrs. Newell, administrative assistant, c/o West Side Organization at 421-1728.

BISMARCK, ND

November 5

"A Letter to the Emperor," a poem by Brian Palecek, telling the story of the 1982 nationwide freeze referenda, will be given its North

Dakota Capitol City Premiere at the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Vote Anniversary Celebration sponsored by the Bismark-Mandan Peace Network, 7:30 p.m., Church of Corpus Christi. For info on "A Letter...": (701) 258-3597.

NASHVILLE, TN

November 5-6

DSA Southern Regional School on Socialist Feminism at Continental Inn, 711 Union St. Speakers will include Stella Nowicki of *Union Maids*. Sessions on women in the South, feminization of poverty, process and women's leadership within DSA, local feminist organizing, feminist strategy, and more. Registration: \$25 at the door, \$20 for pre-registrants, \$5 for unemployed. Free childcare available for pre-registrants. For more information, call (312) 871-7700.

EVANSTON, IL

November 6

Join Playboy's Christie Hefner, Appellate Judge William Bauer, WBBM-TV producer Scott Craig, Evanston Mayor Jay Lytle, former U.S. Attorney Tom Sullivan and many more for a stimulating afternoon exploring the struggle for First Amendment rights in the new technology. 2 p.m., Sunday, November 6, Weinstein Center, National College of Education, Evanston. \$2.50 admission. Tickets sold at the door. Sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union. Call them at 427-7330.

TERRE HAUTE, IN

November 12

1983 Eugene V. Debs Award Dinner, honoring Studs Terkel, presentation speaker Joe Glazer, "Labor's Troubadour." Reception at 5:30 p.m., dinner at 6:30 p.m. Award presentation and acceptance address to follow dinner. Hulman Civic Center, Indiana State University. Tickets \$15.00 per person. For information call or write: Eugene V. Debs Foundation, P.O. Box 843, Terre Haute, IN 47808; (812) 232-2163.

Britain

Continued from page 9

"Cruise missiles are under American control," continued Kinnock, "and make Britain nothing more than a platform for launching a first strike in another country's defense.... Decisions about its use take place not in Britain, for Britain, not in Europe, for Europe, but in Omaha, Nebraska, for reasons we cannot even conceive."

About 25 national trade unions were represented at the stage by Ron Todd from the Transport and General Workers union. The Hyde Park rally attracted both industrial and white collar workers, from mine workers, construction workers, bakers, engineers and tobacco workers to musicians, journalists, public employees and teachers unions. The trade union branch of CND consists of six and a half million unionists. Although Todd's union, Britain's largest, includes 300,000 defense workers, he claims that the union's endorsement of CND does not threaten their jobs. "Military expenditures do not create jobs," Todd said. "For every job created in the military field, you can create three with investment in civilian industry. While we strive for peace and removing all nuclear weapons and for eventual total disarmament, our members accept that their jobs won't be thrown on the scrap heap. In 1945 we transformed nine million people from a war machine into civilian industry. We

did it after war by changing over from making tanks to buses; it's just a question of planning." In a country where half the population are union members, if more unions agreed with Todd, Mrs. Thatcher might have been defeated.

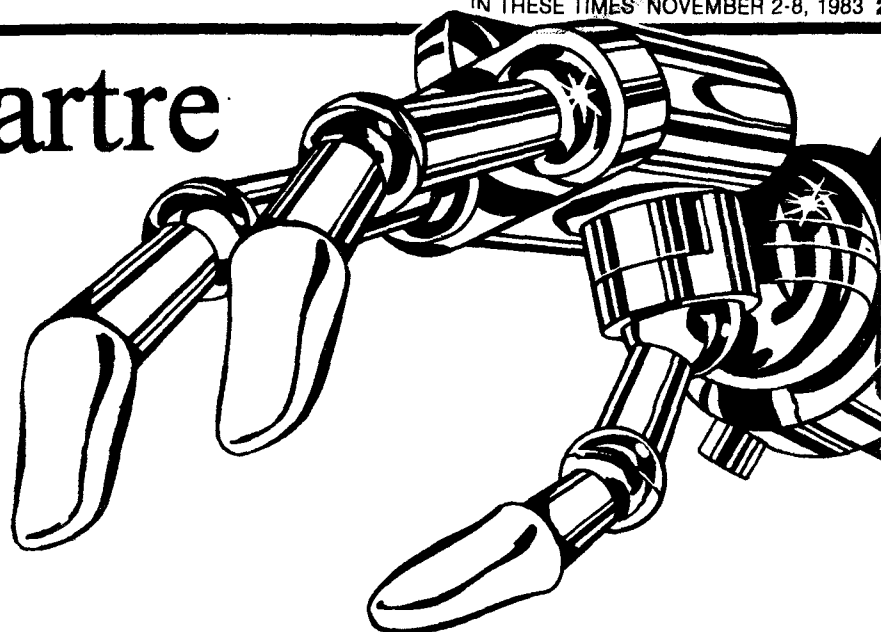
The conversion argument is not merely theoretical, according to CND's union organizer Andrew Hewett. Explaining why so many unions have joined CND, Hewett said, "In this country, there have been substantial cuts in services. Money spent on defense is robbed from health and transport." Unions can see that the Thatcher government cutbacks have contributed to high unemployment.

But the rally speakers and the protesters did not incorporate demands about the economy or other related problems into the disarmament issue. Unlike American antinuclear demonstrations where activists have tried to broaden the peace issue to embrace Central America, the Mideast and domestic concerns like women's rights and racism, the British peace movement is truly a single-issue movement. Its simple and single focus has proven to be its major strength. "Nuclear weapons are made by human beings," as Labour leader Kinnock told the rally. "Nuclear weapons must be dismantled by human beings. This is the cause of common sense."

Despite the ominous news looming over the rally, CND organizers were pleased with the massive turn-out. "This is a vindication," CND press secretary Gillian Reeves said at the end of the day. "We're absolutely thrilled."

Susan Jaffe writes on nuclear issues for the *Village Voice*.

Sartre



Continued from page 24

of nuclear arms and disseminating them throughout the planet, while simultaneously maintaining relations as hostile and antagonistic as ever before. Does this seem absurd to you?"

"I guess so."

"And isn't it true that this situation has created anxiety throughout the planet, as the threat of annihilation becomes increasingly realistic?"

"Yeah, that's true."

"Now tell me, Roger. Do you personally feel that the government responds to all your needs, that your individual interests are fairly and absolutely represented?"

"Hell no. Why just the other day I was saying—"

"Then would it be fair to say that you

feel alienated?"

"A little. Sure."

"Now, Roger, let's assess what we have: freedom of choice, absurdity, anxiety and alienation. The exact criteria for existentialism."

"I got ya! So they *should* be called SART talks after all, right?"

"Precisely. Shall I prepare for dictation?"

"Of what?"

"A letter to your congressman, of course."

"Oh right. But first, well, all that beer, you know how it goes right through me."

"Naturally, Roger. No need for embarrassment." The control panel opened and the metallic arm extended toward Roger, a chrome pan resting on its tray.

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MANAGER/DIRECTOR for Minnesota Nuclear Freeze Campaign. Admin., fundraising, organizing experience and knowledge of nuclear arms issue required. Salary, \$15,600. Resume to: MN Freeze Campaign, 2395 University Ave., St. Paul, MN 55114, (612) 644-4616.

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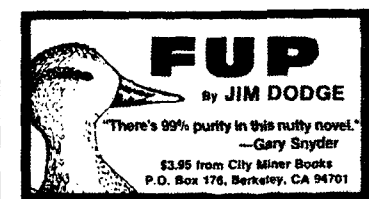
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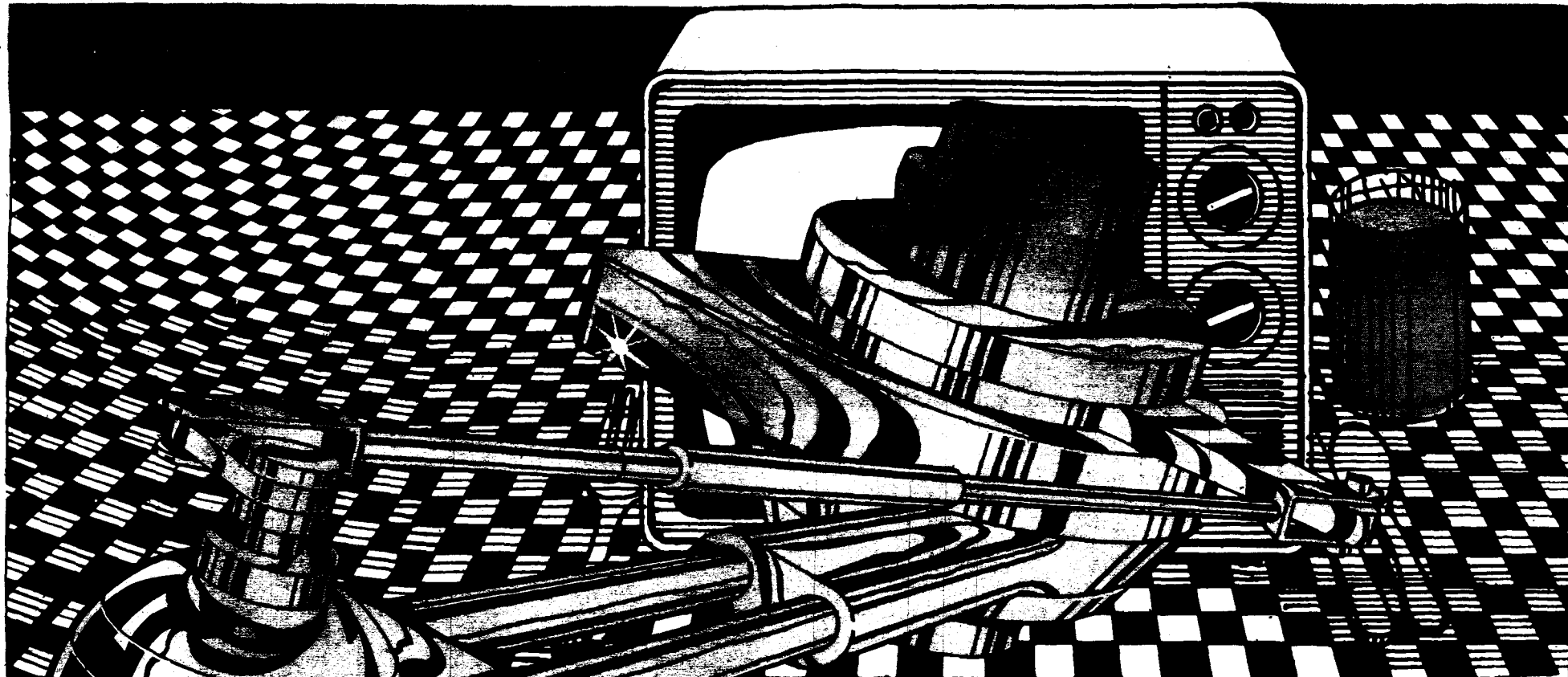
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The Sartre talks

By Steve Ross

MORE AND MORE," said the announcer, "you and your family will be asking your television to do more and more."

"Ridiculous!" Roger declared, raising a beer to his lips. "Stuff and nonsense. Change the channel, Ethel."

The screen flickered with brief glimpses of various programs, including one concerning the rising applications of technology within the home.

"Stop," said Roger, spotting the Evening News. An anchorman was discussing the dim prospects for the START talks in Geneva.

"What is START, Roger?" asked a metallic, yet unmistakably feminine voice from the television.

"Uh, Strategic...Arms...Restriction Talks, I think."

"This, Roger, is not a proper acronym, as there is no word beginning with a T between Strategic and Arms. In fact, there is no word between Strategic and Arms at all."

Roger placed his empty beer can on the dinette table.

"Why is that, Roger?"

"Yeah, well, if they named it right it would be SART, and that sounds like the existentialist philosopher, and nobody for God's sake, wants arms talks to have anything to do with existentialism."

"Gimme another beer, will you Ethel?"

The television control panel opened and a retractable metal arm, with a small tray bearing a cold beer, extended from within and stopped inches shy of Roger's chest.

"Thanks."

"You're quite welcome, I'm sure," replied the television, withdrawing its arm.

"What, precisely, is existentialism?"

"Well, uh... What is this? Twenty questions?"

"If the beer makes you so prone to temperamental outbursts, Roger, perhaps you should not drink it. Or is it, possibly, that you cannot answer my question?"

"Of course I can answer!" Roger exclaimed, flipping through the pages of a pocket dictionary. "Existentialism is,

Ingredients for a new kind of arms control

MY NEIGHBOR FRED DOES not understand the real meaning of the "food as a weapon" idea that keeps making the rounds in the Department of Agriculture.

"First we hook everybody on American wheat," said Fred recently over coffee and doughnuts. "Then, if they cross us, we starve 'em."

"That'd be silly," I said. "Just think what would happen if Russia made us mad by invading Pakistan."

"Reduce their lunches," said Fred. "Show those Godless rascals a thing or two."

"Nonsense," I said. "Our government knows that withheld wheat would pile up on the docks. Grain prices would fall. The American farmer would take it on the chin."

"Weapons hurt," said Fred.

"But that's not what our government means when it talks about food as a weapon," I said. "It's simply referring to the coming international food fight."

"Oh?"

"Yes," I said, "It's part of tabled SALT agreements being kept hush-hush until the presidential elections really get rolling. They've come up with a substitute for nuclear holocaust."

"All nations are to ship their nuclear frights for disassembly at a secret United Nations Nuclear Generating Plant. Then soldiers worldwide will take up agricultural arms and go at it."

"Agricultural arms?"

"Yes. Things like dill spears, pike, swordfish and club sandwiches, grapes for grapeshot and coconuts for pelting."

"During the first phase, the Irish will stew, the Poles pickle and the English roast with ever-increasing fury. Shock will follow shock and grains will rub each other the wrong way from Cornwall to Rye."

"In the middle phase, whole armies will drown in gin or bog down in the land of milk and honey. Slavs will drool over Italian subs. Texans will gobble up Chile; Hungarians will cream Turkey. Everyone will push Finns and Greece to one side. The Germans will knock worst, and the French will whine. The U.S. will launch a Big Mac attack...."

"Enough," said Fred. "I get the picture."

"Just before ceasefire, everyone will wallow in a lake of mustard, catsup, soy sauce and raw eggs. Defense spending will plummet. Farm prices will soar. Budgets will balance. Taxes, interest rates and inflation will curl up on the floor like old dogs. Everyone will be ecstatically happy."

"Well," said Fred, aiming his Danish at me like a bayonet. "That's food for thought, but I'd rather corner those Commies and cut off their Dilly bars."

uhm, 'a philosophic doctrine of beliefs that people have absolute freedom of choice and that the universe is absurd, with an emphasis on the phenomena of anxiety and alienation."

"I see," replied the television, after a pause. "Exceptionally succinct definition, by the way, Roger. You would not, by chance, have used the dictionary, would you?"

"Of course not. Hey, you got any chips?" The metal arm brought a bowl of potato chips to Roger's lap. "Thanks,

Ethel."

"Not at all. Getting back to our original discussion, do not both Andropov and Reagan maintain that, within their respective nations, the citizens have as absolute a freedom of choice as could be desired?"

"Well, yeah. But the Russians—"

"Just a moment. Now, both leaders state emphatically that nuclear war must be avoided at all costs. Yet both countries are speedily increasing their production

Continued on page 23